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THE EUCHARISTIC CANON

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THE EUCHARISTIC CANON

WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR A POSSIBLE REVISION

By

JOHN BLOMFIELD

LONDON
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
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PREFACE

Until the close of the nineteenth century the chief, and usually the only, text books on the Book of Common Prayer, used by Anglican theological students, were those of Procter and Frere and of Evan Daniel. These books trace back to the *Sarum* and other mediaeval rites, and through them to the *Roman* rite. A comparison is made between that rite and the *Gallican* one, the liturgies of *S. Mark* and *S. James* are quoted, and reference is made to the *catecheses* of S. Cyril. The Roman Canon and the Anaphora of *S. Chrysostom* are given in full, but very little is said about these or the other Great Liturgies. Short extracts are given from the *Didache*. The Apology of Justin Martyr and the letter of Trajan to the Emperor are quoted.

The information these books give is mostly Western, and so it is not a matter for surprise to find that the mind of the average cleric is saturated with Western thought and Roman ideals of worship, and that he has much difficulty in seeing the subject from the Eastern standpoint.

But study and appreciation of the Eastern view are essential to the recovery of that complete understanding between ourselves and the East which we desire, and of that unity in the Church Universal for which our Lord prayed, and which we all now recognise is our greatest need.

Now the worship of a people should be, and usually is, the expression of its faith and love. To understand a liturgy, therefore, one must needs grasp the doctrine and the devotion which underlie it. Liturgy and doctrine interpret one another. Divergences of faith and practice are fostered very largely by isolation. But contact will not infrequently show that these divergences are but different ways of expressing the same truth as seen from different angles. The East is the complement of the West—as the South may yet be the fulfilment of the North. So these great Eastern liturgies are found to be not seldom the interpretation (if not the corrective) of Western usages and a truer, because wider, explanation of the Western expression of the Faith. For all misstatements of the Faith (as well as all heresies that are not wilful) are but inadequate or exaggerated truths, just as all vices are virtues run mad. Truth always consists in the mean, and never in the extreme.

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As disunion has been the child of misunderstanding and isolation, so re-union may be looked for as a result of sympathetic contact and prayerful study, which will include an understanding of those ancient rites which express the faith of the first disciples of our Blessed Lord and of those who followed them—the Faith which has been tenaciously held by the conservative East, all through the centuries of cruel and continued persecution. By such prayerful study shall we keep " the proportion of faith."

Until some sixty years ago very little was known of Eastern liturgies, excepting those of *S. Chrysostom* and *S. Basil*, which are the living rites of the Holy Orthodox Church. Most of them were in difficult foreign languages, untranslated and often hidden away in libraries and museums. But liturgiology was then in its infancy, and confined to a few learned enthusiasts who were able to devote time and money to its study. Too often they were regarded as unprofitable cranks who were wasting valuable time. Now we can see that they were patient toilers, digging amongst the ruins of the past, and finding there fresh evidence to confirm the truth of the Gospel, bandages which will yet be used to mend the broken unity of the Church, balm needed for the healing of her wounds.

INTRODUCTION

By W. K. Lowther Clarke, Editorial Secretary of the S.P.C.K.

In May 1929 the Rev. John Blomfield called upon me with a manuscript, entitled *The Eucharist under the Southern Cross*, which he offered to the S.P.C.K. for publication. He explained its contents and purpose with infectious enthusiasm. It was the culmination of his life's work. When it was published he intended to devote the years that remained to a campaign in favour of Prayer Book Revision in Australia and New Zealand along the lines of his book. The Society received a favourable report on the manuscript and I made the author an offer to publish. In the meantime he had died and the situation had to be reviewed.

The author's executor finally decided to proceed with the publication of the book and most generously gave me a free hand to do with the MS. as I thought best. I studied it with care and was amazed at the scholarship displayed. Mr. Blomfield was ordained late in life, in 1917. He had no University training and his ministry was largely spent in pioneer work in Western Australia. Yet he acquired a knowledge of liturgical problems that an expert theologian might envy. His book, I decided, ought to be published for its own sake as well as for a memorial to a devoted priest. At the same time I felt that much of the MS. ought to be omitted. The title was unfortunate, suggesting that the Eucharist in the Southern Hemisphere might be different from the Eucharist elsewhere. The detailed advice given to the Churches of Australia and New Zealand on the question of liturgical reform seemed out of place now that it was detached from the living voice of the counsellor. A shorter, and therefore cheaper, book, with some chance of being read by the clergy, would, I thought, better fulfil the spirit of the writer's intention.

So I took the executor at his word and cut out a good deal that seemed to me irrelevant. With hardly an exception, I verified the statements and quotations.

A number of small slips, inevitable in the work of one who was not a scholar in the technical sense, have been tacitly cor-

rected. More serious errors, as they seemed to me, I dealt with by omissions. In a few cases I added a note of my own in square brackets.

It will be seen that Mr. Blomfield was an enthusiast for the Epiclesis. I have cut out a great deal of his argument, which seemed to me irrelevant; for example, a lengthy study of the Scriptural evidence for the Epiclesis, which was in effect a catena of passages speaking of the Holy Spirit. Again, the climax of the book was an advocacy of a restored Epiclesis as the way of reuniting Christendom. Had he been in England during the Prayer Book controversy of 1927–28, he would surely have shed this illusion. From the Evangelical side the proposed Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon *things* was attacked as unscriptural and tending to superstitious ideas. Anglo-Catholics objected with equal vigour to an Epiclesis following the "Words of Institution," as implying that the existing form of Consecration was imperfect and as introducing an Eastern conception into a Western Rite. Posterity may be surprised at the vigour with which opinions were expressed. Research may ultimately be able to connect the Epiclesis with the words of thanksgiving (or blessing) spoken by Our Lord in the Upper Room, though this appears unlikely. But for the present, so it seemed to me, the advocacy of the Epiclesis as a way of peace was calculated to weaken Mr. Blomfield's book.

Such a prelude is needed to explain the genesis of so unusual a book. I now step aside and let "Father John," as he was affectionately called, speak for himself.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I DESIRE to express my gratitude especially to Dr. Srawley, Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral, who has saved me from many a pitfall and given invaluable help. Indeed, whatever is really valuable in the following pages may be ascribed to him. To Dr. Maclean, Bishop of Moray and Ross, I am deeply indebted for guidance as regards the Ancient Church Orders and for advice concerning the vexed question of the Epiclesis. To Messrs. Longmans Green & Co. I offer my thanks for their permission to quote from Dr. Fortescue's work on *The Mass*.

J. B.

Feast of SS. Philip and James, 1929.

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THE EUCHARISTIC CANON

CHAPTER I

THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED "CHURCH ORDERS"

THE eight books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*[1] (*A. C.*) have been known to scholars since the Reformation. It is now proved that they were a compilation made by an unknown scribe in the vicinity of Antioch about A.D. 375. He based Books I–VI on the third-century *Didascalia* and Book VII on the *Didache* and on some book not identified. But he altered the original document quite freely, "by omissions, additions and readjustments to suit his own ideas and taste." ▪

The liturgy in Book VIII, erroneously ascribed to S. Clement, was also his own composition. As far as can be ascertained, it was never used anywhere. Its origin was the puzzle of liturgiologists until similar documents were discovered during the last half of the nineteenth century. It is now seen that this scribe produced Book VIII by working up previous liturgical matter in the same free and irresponsible way that he had used in the manufacture of Books I–VII.

The newly-discovered documents[2] have for convenience been termed "Church Orders," because they consist mainly of rules for the consecration of bishops, the ordination of clergy, the appointment of readers, deaconesses and widows, the use of the gifts of healing and the blessing of oils, fasting and daily prayer, and, generally, the due ordering of Church life. We should to-day call them Ecclesiastical Canons or Ordinances. But some of them have liturgical matter embedded in them which is of the greatest importance.

The earliest of these documents to be found was the *Egyptian Church Order* (*Eg. C. O.*). It exists in Ethiopic, Coptic, Arabic, and (in fragments) in Latin. In the Ethiopic version is embedded a liturgy which underlies the Abyssinian rite. The

[1] See Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 9. The full text was published in 1563.

[2] Connolly, *The so-called Eg. C.O.*, p. 8.

▪ Though in a fragmentary form they had been long known.

second and third versions have no prayers in them. For many years but little attention was paid to these documents, because it was thought that they were later than, and based upon, Book VIII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (*A. C.*).

In 1891 H. Achelis published his *Die Canones Hippolyti*, in which he gave in parallel columns the text of these *Canons of Hippolytus* (*C. H.*), of the *Eg. C. O.*, and of *A. C.* These Canons have no liturgical matter beyond the Salutation and Sursum Corda. He believed that *C. H.* belonged to the age of Hippolytus, who was anti-pope of Rome, and died *c.* 225, and that they formed the basis of *A. C.* Harnack in Germany accepted this view, as did Duchesne and Batiffol in France. But Funk (who published in the same year his *Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen*) adhered to the original theory that *A. C.* was the basis of the other documents, of which he thought *C. H.* was the latest.

In 1899 Rahmani published in Syriac *The Testament of Our Lord* (*Test.*). Achelis and Funk still held to their opposite views as to the relation between *C. H.* and *A. C.*, but agreed in regarding this new document (*Test.*) as a later elaboration of *Eg. C. O.*

In 1900 G. Hauler gave us the *Verona Fragments*, which are a Latin version of a considerable part of *Eg. C. O.*

All these documents became at once intensely interesting to liturgical scholars, and it is no exaggeration to say that their discovery has completely revolutionised the science of liturgiology. These Verona Fragments contain a complete Eucharistic Consecration Prayer, which was to be said by a newly-consecrated bishop immediately after his consecration, and the prayer to be said by the consecrating bishop just before it is also given. Both prayers are happily intact, and the Eucharistic Consecration Prayer is practically identical with the similar one in the Abyssinian liturgy, whereas there are serious divergences between these two and the Syrian one (*Test.*).

The next sixteen years were prolific of much discussion, and a large number of books were written. In 1901 Bishop John Wordsworth of Salisbury published his *Ministry of Grace*, in which he propounded the idea of a "Lost Order" from which all these related documents were evolved. In 1902 Dr. Cooper and Bishop Maclean brought out an English translation of *Test.* In 1904 G. Horner published his *Statutes of the Apostles*, which gives the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Arabic texts of *Eg. C. O.*, with translations. Next year came Funk's *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, which compared the texts of *A. C.*, the *Didascalia*, the *Didache*, and the *Constitutiones per Hippolytum* (or *Epitome Constitutionum Apost.* viii, as he calls it). His work was analytical

and of great help to further investigation, but he still adhered to the belief that *A. C.* was the parent document. Bishop Maclean was the next to add to the discussion. In his *Ancient Church Orders*, published in 1910, he agreed with Bishop Wordsworth's view of a "Lost Church Order," and gave a convenient summary of the contents of the various documents. He showed that *C. H.* could not be the original document because it contains matter peculiar to itself, which is clearly of later date. And he inclined to the priority of *Eg. C. O.* and regarded *Eth.*, *Cop.*, *Lat.* as three separate redactions of it.

In April 1915 Dr. Frere wrote his article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, called "Early Ordination Services," in which he also accepted the priority of *Eg. C. O.* and placed *C. H.*, *A. C.* and *Test.* in that order. He agreed with Maclean and Wordsworth as to an original Lost Church Order. Three months later C. H. Turner in the same Journal agreed that *C. H.* was late, "a version of a version," at least a century later than the Ethiopic and Latin versions of *Eg. C. O.*, which is probably traceable to Hippolytus, and certainly written in Greek in the third century.

Meanwhile in 1910 E. Schwartz came to the conclusion which Dom Connolly reached in 1916, but his tract *Ueber die pseudapostolischen Kirchenordnungen* does not give the evidence which Dom Connolly accumulated and marshalled with infinite patience, and presented to us in his great work.[1]

In 1913 Dr. J. H. Srawley (now Chancellor of Lincoln) published his *Early History of the Liturgy*. This book does not attempt to solve the question of the priority of these Church Orders, but it approaches the whole subject from a new angle, and as a result it gets some very instructive views. Each local church is taken separately, and its practices are interpreted by the patristic writings concerning its faith and worship.

At Easter 1916 Dom Connolly completed his work *The so-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*, which was published by the Cambridge University Press in *Texts and Studies*, Vol. VIII, No. 4. It and its results are dealt with in the next chapter.

[1] This chronological account is taken from Dr. Srawley's review of Dom Connolly's book published in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XVIII, (1917), p. 229.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT DISCOVERY OF E. SCHWARTZ AND DOM CONNOLLY

In 1916 Dom Connolly[1] gave us his great book, which has solved the riddle and has convinced nearly all liturgical scholars, *The so-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*. He classifies the documents as follows :

Document.	Reference.	Liturgical Matter which Each Contains.
(*a*) Canons of Hippolytus .	C.H.	Salutation and Sursum Corda *only*.
(*b*) Ethiopic Church Order .	Eg. C. O.	Full Consecration Prayer.
(*c*) {Coptic / Arabic} versions of (*b*) .	Eg. C. O.	Nothing.
(*d*) Verona Fragments . .		Full Consecration Prayer.
(*e*) Testamentum Domini. .	Test.	A " Revised " liturgy.
(*f*) Constitutiones per Hippolytum	Epit.	No liturgy but prayer for the consecration of bishops, etc.
(*g*) Apostolic Constitutions .	A.C.	An elaborated and expanded liturgy.

(*b*, *c*, *d*) are Coptic, Arabic, and Latin translations and versions of one and the same document written in Greek by Hippolytus.

(*a*) contains the same matter, but it has been altered and re-arranged to suit the demands or needs of a later age—probably some time between the fourth and sixth century.

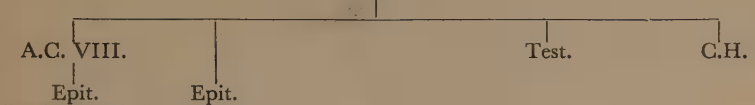
(*e*) is not a version but a redaction (and, even so, freely altered) of *Eg. C. O.* It is obviously of late date.

(*f*) is in Greek and is a condensation of (*g*), and it is, for convenience, called the Epitome.

(*g*) was the earliest known to us, but it is a fourth-century redaction.

It is not within the scope of this little book to repeat the arguments by which he proves, step by step, and with great clearness, his thesis. But his conclusion must be quoted. It is, in tabular form, as follows:

[1] Of Downside Abbey, Bath.



A very small fragment of this Greek original has been found by Dr. F. X. Funk in Vienna. It is hoped that a complete copy may yet be brought to light.

The conclusions at which Dom Connolly arrived (quite independently of Schwartz) are the result of much patient labour and of a most careful and critical comparison of all these documents. He has reconciled all the views previously held, and he has proved convincingly that Hippolytus was the author of the original document from which all the others came. His book, together with Dr. Srawley's review of it, must be carefully studied by anyone who desires to lay a sure foundation for his liturgical knowledge. But a word of caution is necessary. We have not *the original document as Hippolytus left it*. Except for the very small fragments found by Funk, the *Greek* is lost. A considerable portion of a *Latin* translation is all we have of his writings. And the Oriental versions (which are translations of translations) in Sahidic and Ethiopic have at least some elements which are a good deal later than Hippolytus, even if this is not true of the Latin version. So we cannot be certain that every detail is Hippolytean. But, on the other hand, where all the versions agree, we may deduce, with fair confidence, that such parts are original. And we may be quite certain that the original Greek document was the work of Hippolytus, who died in the year 225. Even the most cautious scholars (including Dr. Maclean, whom I am quoting) agree that this is so, and that "it is in fact his 'Apostolic Tradition' inscribed on the chair in the Lateran Museum in Rome."

But the Eucharistic Consecration Prayer in the Latin and the Ethiopic Versions is identical. We may conclude that this form was one that was in actual use in Rome, and possibly elsewhere, at the beginning of the second century, or even before that time. At any rate it agrees with Justin Martyr's description of what was done in 150. But was it the "use" of the "Great Church" or only of the congregation to which Hippolytus ministered, or was it merely his own personal use? We cannot tell, for there is no evidence concerning the worship of the Roman Church earlier than that of *De Sacramentis*, which is two

[1] p. 133.

centuries later. But it is clear that the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (which is hereafter referred to as *Ap. Trad.*) had a very wide influence, and that this influence extended to Abyssinia, where it was the basis of the liturgy of that church, and to Syria, where it became the source of *Test.* and *A. C.*

Now, although we may not take the liturgies of Abyssinia and Syria as independent witnesses of an original primitive use (seeing that they all have a common source), yet we may note that the original document (*Ap. Trad.*) has three chief points in it which appear again and again when the liturgies of the next century are developed.

These points, as Dr. Frere observes,[1] cluster around three main verbs, viz. (1) "We thank Thee"; (2) "We offer to Thee"; (3) "We ask Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit."

And these same three points appear in the liturgy of SS. Adai and Mari, which is the basis of the Nestorian rites, and is practically identical with that of Malabar. Dr. Gummey[2] gives what he considers to be the original form of the Consecration Prayer of this rite, after he has stripped it of everything that can possibly belong to a later date. This residuum bears the marks of the most remote antiquity, and it may be (as he thinks) that it indicates "a possible stage in development *prior* to that of the *Apostolic Tradition*, for its note of exuberant thanksgiving binds it into a remarkable unity, and suggests the atmosphere of primitive times when appreciation of the 'glad tidings of great joy' was keen, and the Eucharist was regarded as the 'Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.'"

Even in this reduced form we note the same three points, (1) Thanksgiving; (2) Oblation; (3) Invocation.

The first is here quite as comprehensive as, though perhaps less exact than, it is in *Ap. Trad.* The second, which is explicit in *Ap. Trad.*, is implicit here ("commemorating and celebrating"). The third is expressed with equal clearness in both, but in this form the *purpose* for which the Holy Spirit is invoked ("to bless and hallow 'this oblation,' and that it may be to us . . . for pardon," etc.) is much more definitely worded than the similar petition ("for fulfilment," etc.) in *Ap. Trad.*

Thus we get independent witness of these three points from "the ends of the" Christian "earth"—Rome and Abyssinia at one extreme, Persia and India at the other—evidence of the same facts from churches that have been separated, not only by distance but by doctrine, and between which all communion, if not all communication, ceased for centuries because of the Nestorian heresy. We may, then, fairly conclude that Thanks-

[1] *Primitive Consecration Prayer*, p. 12. [2] *Theology*, May 1922, p. 293.

giving, Oblation, and Invocation are early and widespread features of the rite.

To facilitate comparison the two prayers are given below.[1]

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus.	*The Liturgy of SS. Adai and Mari.*
(1) *Thanksgiving.*	
We give Thee thanks,	Worthy of praise from every mouth and of thanksgiving from every tongue, and of adoration and exaltation from every creature is Thy adorable and glorious Name.
O God, through Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, Whom in the last days Thou didst send to us, a Saviour and Redeemer, and Angel of Thy counsel; Who is Thy inseparable Word, through Whom Thou didst make all things, and He was well-pleasing unto Thee:	[O glorious Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost],[2] Who didst create the world by Thy grace, and its inhabitants by Thy pitifulness, and didst save mankind by Thy compassion, and hast shown great grace unto mortals.
Thou didst send Him from heaven into the womb of a Virgin; He was conceived and became incarnate, and was shown to be Thy Son, being born of the Holy Spirit and a Virgin; Who, fulfilling Thy will and acquiring a holy people for Thee, stretched out His hands for suffering that He might free from suffering those who believed in Thee.	For Thou hast shown great grace unto us which cannot be repaid, in that Thou didst put on our manhood [3]
	that Thou mightest quicken us by Thy Godhead,
And when He was betrayed to His voluntary passion, that He might loose (the pains of) death and break the chains of the devil, might tread underfoot (the powers of) Hell, and lead forth the righteous, fix the boundary thereof and make known His Resurrection,	and hast exalted our low estate and hast restored us from our fall, and hast raised our mortality, and hast forgiven our trespasses, and hast justified us from our guilt, and hast enlightened our knowledge, O our Lord and God, and hast condemned our enemies, and hast granted victory to the weakness of our frail nature in the overflowing mercies of Thy grace.
Taking bread and giving thanks to Thee, He said: Take, eat: This is My Body, which is broken for you. Likewise also the cup saying: This is My Blood, which is shed for you:	

[1] The first from Linton's *Twenty-Five Consecration Prayers*, p. 30, the second from *Theology*, *loc. cit.*, p. 294.

[2] "Probably this phrase displaced an earlier 'O my Lord,' or 'O my Lord and God.' A definite naming of the Trinity in prayer can hardly be considered early" (Gummey).

[3] "The Incarnation is here spoken of as the act of the whole Godhead. This inexactness is surely characteristic of quite early times" (Gummey).

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus.	*The Liturgy of SS. Adai and Mari.*
as often as ye do this ye shall do it for My Memorial.	We also, O my LORD, Thy weak and frail and miserable sinners, who are gathered together in Thy Name and stand before Thee at this time, have received the example which is from Thee and hath been delivered unto us,[1]
(2) *Oblation.*	
Mindful, therefore, of His death and resurrection, we [2] offer to Thee this bread and this cup,[2] giving thanks to Thee because Thou hast deemed us worthy to stand before Thee and minister unto Thee:	Rejoicing and praising and exalting and [2] commemorating and celebrating [2] before Thee this great [and dread [3]] and holy and lifegiving and divine mystery of the passion and death and burial and resurrection of our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.
(3) *Invocation.*	
And we beseech Thee that Thou wouldst send Thy HOLY SPIRIT upon this oblation of Thy Holy Church;	And may there come, O my LORD, Thine HOLY SPIRIT and rest upon this oblation of Thy servants [and bless and hallow it [4]]
and that joining them together Thou wouldest grant it [5] to all Thy holy ones who partake,[5]	that it may be to us, O my LORD:
[7] for fulfilment with Thy HOLY SPIRIT and for the confirmation of faith in truth [7]	[8] for the pardon of offences and the forgiveness of sins, and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and for new life in the kingdom of heaven [6] with all those who have been well pleasing in Thy sight [6,8]
that we may praise Thee and glorify Thee through Thy SON JESUS CHRIST; Through Whom to Thee be glory and honour, to FATHER and SON with the HOLY SPIRIT, in Thy Holy Church	For all this great and marvellous dispensation towards us we give Thee thanks, and glorify Thee without ceasing
	in Thy Church, redeemed by the precious blood of Thy CHRIST, with unclosed mouths and open faces ascribing praise and glory and honour and thanksgiving and adoration to Thy living and holy and life-giving Name, now and ever and for ever and ever.
both now and to the ages of the ages. Amen.	Amen.

[1] "We have a distinct allusion here to the LORD CHRIST's institution of the Eucharist and to His command for its observance—made at the point where the complete narrative is introduced in other (and later?) rites" (Gummey).

[2–2] Compare the explicit oblation with the implicit one of *A. and M.*

[3] Probably a later addition (Gummey).

[4] *A. and M.* is here more definite than *Ap. Trad.*

[5–5] Compare this phrase with [6–6], also [7–7] with [8–8].

In these two rites we may see a type of liturgy prevalent in the early part of the third century and before it—a type which accords with Justin Martyr's description. In the fourth century great changes were made in worship to accord with changes in belief. Hence we shall find in the "Great Liturgies," which we are about to consider, and especially in those of the East, much old material amidst considerable later elaboration. So, if we are to understand them aright, we must study them in the light of the patristic writings, and of the local circumstances, of the time.

PART I

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING, THE SALUTATION, INVITATION, AND PREFACE

Possibly the opening versicles formed no part of the original prayer. They first appear in the *Latin* version of *Ap. Trad.*, the date of which cannot be fixed as yet. They have a distinctly Latin flavour[1] and probably they were prefixed when the *Greek* prayer was translated into *Latin*. But some form of invitation to the faithful after the dismissal of the catechumens would be quite natural, and perhaps necessary. So this form may have been used from the first.

The Salutation.—After 375 a salutation of some sort appears in every Liturgy before *Sursum Corda*. Most Eastern ones have 2 Cor. xiii. 14, some "Peace be with you all." The Egyptian and Western have "The Lord be with you," which is probably a variation of 2 Tim. iv. 22.[1]

Lift up your hearts.—This probably comes from Africa before 200, and it may have been brought by the first Jewish converts, and have been derived from Lam. iii. 41, "Let us lift up our hearts *with* our hands," etc. This "Let us," etc., is the form taken in *S. James*, *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Basil*, *Serapion*, *S. Mark*, and some other Alexandrian liturgies. "Mind" occurs in place of, or with, "heart" in some. The need of sincerity and attention is emphasised as against mere formality.

Let us give thanks, etc.—Thanksgiving is one of the main purposes of the rite, and this invitation is the keynote and motive of what is now to follow. This feature was so emphatically expressed, and so prominently placed, in the earliest rites, that the first Christians gave to "our Lord's Own Service," quite naturally, the name of "The Eucharist" or "Great Thanksgiving."

The Preface.—This note of thanksgiving is taken up at once in the Preface. But in our present rite (as in the Roman form from which it is derived) it ceases directly it is sounded. We do not say *for what* we are giving thanks. Unlike our Eastern

[1] Frere, p. 7; Linton, p. 25.

brethren, we fail to thank GOD for creation, preservation, and the joys of life, or even for our LORD's birth and life. If their Great Thanksgiving is too long, the Western one is certainly inadequate and meagre. In theirs the benefits which mankind share with the heavenly host are usually named before the angelic hymn; those peculiar to us after it. Might it not be as well to add to our Preface a few words from our General Thanksgiving to supply so obvious a defect, and to expand the Commemoration which follows the Sanctus, so as to thank GOD for our LORD's holy life and for the preparation He made for it? Compare the opening paragraphs of *Ap. Trad.* and *A. and M.* (p. 19).

The Ter-Sanctus or Angelic Hymn.—This, and the reference to the combined worship of heaven and earth which precedes it, are not to be found in any liturgy before *A. C.* (375). They are not in *Ap. Trad.* (225) or in *Test.* In the Abyssinian version they are clearly a later insertion. Dr. Frere says [1] that the earliest reference to the Ter-Sanctus which can be traced is in the *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* [2] by Irenaeus. *A. M.* has the Ter-Sanctus, but Dr. Gummey [3] thinks it is a late insertion in what is clearly very ancient fundamental material. Justin Martyr does not mention it. But it is possible that Clement of Rome (*c.* 100) refers to it,[4] and also Clement of Alexandria a century later.[5] By the time of S. Cyril of Jerusalem (348) it was a well-established feature of the rite, for he writes: "After this we make mention of heaven, and earth, and sea; of stars and all the creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible; of Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Thrones; of the Cherubim with many faces; in effect repeating that call of David's, 'Magnify the LORD with me.' We make mention also of the Seraphim, whom Isaiah in the HOLY SPIRIT saw standing around the throne of GOD, and with two of their wings veiling their face, and with twain their feet, while with twain they did fly, crying 'Holy, Holy, Holy, is the LORD of Sabaoth.' For the reason of our reciting this confession of GOD, delivered down to us by the Seraphim, is this, that so we may be partakers with the hosts of the world above in their Hymn of praise." [6]

It is probable that the simple form which S. Cyril here quotes was the earliest adopted both in the East and the West,[7] and that it was soon expanded to the form in which it appears in S. James and other liturgies as we now have them.

[1] Frere, p. 5.
[2] *c.* 10 [written about 190, see J. A. Robinson's edition, p. 2].
[3] *Theology, loc. cit.*
[4] xxxiv. 6, 7.
[5] See *E.H.L.*, p. 48.
[6] *Catech. Myst.*, V. 6.
[7] See Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 531.

It must be noted here that *Benedictus Qui* has no connection with *Ter-Sanctus*, and that it is a much later addition.[1]

How can the universal adoption of Ter-Sanctus after 375 be accounted for? The following is a possible theory:

Assuming that a Sanctus based on Isaiah vi. 3 was sung antiphonally in the Temple [2] and that the earliest Jewish converts brought it with them, it is clear that our LORD and His Apostles joined in that worship, and that the infant Church of Jerusalem knew of it.

But the vision of Isaiah was of GOD worshipped in the Temple under the Levitical dispensation, and it speaks only of His glory in "the whole *earth*." It was vouchsafed to the prophet at a time of dire national distress, when the throne of David was tottering. A Jew with Messianic hopes, living in our LORD's time, would naturally regard that vision as an assurance that the temporal reign of the House of David would be restored. So long, then, as the Temple stood, a Sanctus derived from Isaiah's vision could scarcely be included in a *Christian* liturgy. But after its destruction by Titus in 70 a new situation arose. The Levitical worship was no longer possible. A new vision recorded in Rev. iv. and v. was granted to the seer. That vision disclosed a worship which was celestial and spiritual. Another High Priest, after the order of Melchisedek, had arisen. The LAMB that had been slain, and had redeemed man by His blood, was being worshipped by every creature *in heaven and on earth* (Rev. v. 9, 13). His offering and their worship were in heaven. A Sanctus based on that vision was now not only possible but expedient, and, possibly, it was to this Christian Sanctus that S. Clement refers in 100.[3]

But the Church of Jerusalem was then still Hebrew and under Hebrew bishops, and it was being persecuted by the Jews up to their last revolt against the Roman Government in 132. Then Jerusalem was razed to the ground and a new city, Aelia Capitolina, was built on its ruins, into which the Jews were forbidden to enter. Under Marcus, the first Gentile bishop, all objection to a *Christian* Sanctus would vanish, and it is significant that some forty years later Irenaeus, a native of Asia Minor, and a presbyter (and afterwards bishop) of Lyons in Gaul, should use these words: "GOD is glorified *by His WORD*, Who is His Son continually, and by the *Holy SPIRIT*, Who is Wisdom of *the FATHER* of all: and the power(s) of these, (namely) of the *WORD*

[1] See p. 147.
[2] Cf. the Synagogue Sanctus quoted by Fortescue, *The Mass*, p. 72.
[3] Fortescue, p. 13. [Another view would be that Rev. reflects existing Christian worship.]

and *Wisdom*, which are called Cherubim and Seraphim, with unceasing voices glorify God; and *every created thing that is in the heaven* offers glory to *God the* Father *of all*." [1] These italicised words show that Revelation and not Isaiah is referred to, and that the Sanctus (which he does not quote) is the *Christian* and not the Hebrew one.

It is quite possible that the Christian Sanctus, while allowable after 136, was optional in the Eucharist for a long time. If so, it would not appear in the earliest documents. And it is probable that, owing to its intrinsic merit, and as expressing S. John's vision, it gradually won its way into general use. It appears always in its Christian form : " *Heaven and* earth are full of His (or Thy) glory." The *Catechesis* of S. Cyril of Jerusalem (348), quoted before, shows that in his time only the words " Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth " were used. But *A. C.* (twenty-five years later) and the Liturgy of S. James add the distinctive Christian words quoted above. The reference to the angelic worship in both these liturgies had by that time been expanded, to include the N. T. as well as the O. T. quotations.[2] From 375 onwards we find in every liturgy reference to the worship in heaven of Cherubim and Seraphim, Angels and Archangels, and all the hosts around the throne of God; and it is with their worship of the Lamb that ours on earth is joined.[1]

[1] [Robinson, *St. Irenæus ; The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* (pp. 39, 40), who proves the Eucharistic origin of the passage by parallels from Serapion's Liturgy and a MS. of *Apost. Const.*, commented on by C. H. Turner in *J.T.S.*, Oct. 1914, p. 59.]

[2] Linton, pp. 35, 40.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING (*continued*)

THE COMMEMORATION OF REDEMPTION

THE Great Thanksgiving, which begins with the Preface, and into which the Angelic Hymn has come, is now resumed in the commemoration of Redemption. Thanksgiving is still our keynote, and so this section begins with the note of glory, praise, and thanksgiving. In almost every liturgy some word in the Ter-Sanctus is repeated as a link, or cue, to connect the Preface with the Thanksgiving.

If we examine again *Ap. Trad.* and *A. and M.* (as given in Chapter II) into which the Ter-Sanctus has not yet come, we shall see that no such cue was needed.[1] In these ancient rites the Thanksgiving for creation, the Incarnation, Life, Death, and Resurrection follows naturally and logically.

The Thanksgiving of *Ap. Trad.* begins with the mission of the Inseparable WORD to be a Saviour and Redeemer, miraculously born of a Virgin, fulfilling the FATHER'S will, and acquiring a holy people. Then it flows quite smoothly into the commemoration of His voluntary Passion and victorious Resurrection, so that He might free the slaves of Satan, and tread underfoot the powers of evil. It is expressed simply, just as the Gospel story is, with holy brevity and awe.

A. and M., which is perhaps the older form, is less explicit but quite as full, and it is Eastern in tone. Here praise, thanksgiving, and adoration are rendered to GOD by all creation. Then the hymn of mortals ascends, in ever-increasing volume, for His pitifulness and mercy in redeeming them from an unpayable debt, and for the grace won in the Incarnation; for restoration from the Fall, for forgiveness, justification, and enlightenment; and for the "victory to the weakness of our frail nature in the overflowing mercies of Thy grace." It is glorious in its praise and clear in its allusions. Its language is stately, more rhetorical than that of its Western sister, but quite as comprehensive.

[1] So also in *Test.* (Linton, p. 143).

When, at a later date, the Ter-Sanctus is inserted into the Ethiopic version of *Ap. Trad.* (somewhat awkwardly, as Dr. Frere points out) [1] the cue employed is "Truly the heavens and earth are *full* of the holiness of Thy glory." [2] And this is the usual cue in the Alexandrian group of liturgies. But in the Antiochene group, beginning with *A. C.*, "holy" is, generally speaking,[3] taken as the cue. But there are exceptions to this rule, in which "glory," "praise," and "thanksgiving" (or "confession") are used.[4] In *A. C.* this original idea is lost for a while,[5] and does not reappear "until after the commemoration of the whole earthly work of CHRIST has been made." [6] "Glory, praise, and thanksgiving" seem to be the older link, not only with the Preface, but with the Invitation, "Let us *give thanks* unto our LORD GOD."

Of course, there is much to be said in favour of using the Antiochene cue "Holy art Thou," [7] for GOD's holiness is the ever recurring theme of angelic praise, and we give glory to GOD by proclaiming that He is holy. Would it not, then (as it would seem the Non-Jurors thought [8]), be better for us to lay stress upon the holiness of GOD rather than on our own feeble efforts to give Him the glory that is His due? But have we not just done this in the Angelic Hymn? For we, though sinful, are the redeemed of GOD, His holy people, a people for His own possession. And we have our human theme, our special cause for thanksgiving, which the angels have not. It is the theme of redemption, upon which we are now entering, and for which it is our bounden duty to give thanks.

In Eastern liturgies no distinction is made between what we call the Preface and what follows the Sanctus. The exultant note of thanksgiving for creation, uttered before the Angelic Hymn, is broken by the confession of the Fall, but it is at once renewed in the record of the Promises and Preparation under the First Covenant. Then it rises and swells in ever increasing triumph as the perfect Life and precious Death of the SON of GOD are recalled to mind, and reaches its climax in the recital of the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament, the Memorial of His atoning Sacrifice.

Western liturgies, by contrast, make little or no reference to anything anterior to the Passion of our LORD, and the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament. The English rite, based on the mediaeval Roman, and followed in this respect by the Scottish, American, and South African rites, perpetuates this obvious

[1] Frere, p. 4. [2] Linton, p. 108.
[3] Linton, pp. 40, 56, 60, 64, 73, 79 and Neale and Littledale, p. 164, for Malabar.
[4] Linton, pp. 45, 51, 69. [5] *Ib.*, p. 37.
[6] Frere, p. 14. [7] Linton, p. 40. [8] Linton, p. 131.

defect—a defect so striking that the ancient name of Eucharist has almost fallen into desuetude, because it sounds unnatural. This defect the Non-Jurors sought to remedy in 1718. They condensed the Thanksgiving in the Liturgy of S. James, which is itself a condensation of that in *A. C.* Even so it is too long for modern use. A shortened form[1] might be drawn up so as to relieve the barrenness of our office in this respect. To say "thank you" is the very essence of bare politeness, to omit it is the grossest rudeness. At no point in the worship of our Heavenly FATHER is thanksgiving for *all* His mercies, and especially for those of redemption, so natural and so essential as it is here.

Another reason for this insertion is the crying need to-day of a very definite assertion of the truths of the Fall, and of the atoning work of our Blessed LORD in His Life, as well as by His Passion, which are constantly being assailed, not only by those who are outside, but by some who are inside, the fold of His Church.

Another point upon which especial emphasis is laid in Eastern worship is that our LORD's Passion, death, and sacrifice were voluntary.[2] The Scottish expression, "His *own* oblation . . . of Himself[3] once offered," brings out this truth more clearly and prominently than the English one, "His *one* oblation . . . once offered"—which is needlessly tautological. The solitary nature of His unique Sacrifice is adequately guarded by insisting that it was "once offered" "upon the cross" and that it was "a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice" which can never be repeated. What we do need to emphasise, and to make quite clear, is that it was voluntary.[4]

Who made there . . . world.—Scudamore shows that Cranmer's opening phrase (which has been adopted in every subsequent revision) was not new in his day, but that it was a clear and concise expression of Catholic teaching on the Atonement.[5] The verbal alteration which the Scottish rite provides would emphasise, and make clear, the voluntary character of the Unique Sacrifice.

There is a precedent for this preliminary commemoration (which anticipates the Anamnesis) as far back as *A. C.*, where, after an elaborate recital of our LORD's sufferings, these beautiful words occur: "Mindful, therefore, of those things endured for us, we give thanks to Thee, O GOD Almighty, not as we ought, but as we are able, and we fulfil His institution."[6]

Now that the Classics are not generally learned (and are

[1] Such as that suggested on p. 148.
[2] S. John x. 18.
[3] These words "of Himself" were not in the 1549 Book.
[4] See examples of Eastern expressions given on p. 151.
[5] pp. 585, 586.
[6] Linton, p. 37.

optional in universities), the ordinary man does not understand the import of such words as *oblation* and *satisfaction*. The former is not in common use, the latter is used in a new sense and conveys the idea of repletion. Would it not be as well, while the opportunity lasts, to change these and other similarly obsolete words to others "understanded of the people"—preferably short words of Saxon origin?[1]

It will be well worth our while, as we proceed with our studies, to pause at the end of each chapter and to examine that section of the anaphora with which it deals in the various examples which Linton supplies. We shall note how varied is the treatment of each part in different localities, and we shall find much that is illuminating. This will ultimately lead to the study of Dr. Brightman's larger and more expressive work, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, which will widen our outlook, and deepen our knowledge of the anaphora. And if we interpret the local treatment of each part by the teaching of the Fathers—as Dr. Srawley has shown us how to do—we shall gain a true perspective of the whole subject.

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 15–17.

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING (*continued*)

THE COMMEMORATION OF THE INSTITUTION

Some sixteen liturgies, most of them Syrian, preface the recital of the Institution by a reference to the fulfilment of the First Covenant and the beginning of the Second, to the development of the Christian Passover out of the Jewish one—the first typical of, and looking forward to, the Sacrifice of the Cross with faith and hope: the latter commemorating, and looking back to, it with thankfulness and love.

There is much to be said in favour of some short, clear statement of this kind in order to show the connection between the type and the antitype, the fulfilment of the law in the Gospel. For many ill-instructed people, and most children, have the crude idea that Christ was a drastic reformer, and even a revolutionary, bent upon the abolition of an old, worn-out religion, which had become obsolete and unsuitable to the needs of His time, and determined to set up an entirely new and contradictory system, which would be free from objectionable features, and very much more simple. They forget that, at the outset of His teaching,[1] He declared that He came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, and they do not realise that the Supper of which our Lord and His Apostles partook was a very real part of the Passover rites. So they suppose that, after the conclusion of the usual evening meal, He inaugurated His new religion, and instituted a meal of a social, but by no means sacrificial, nature as a mere love-feast, to keep alive a personal recollection of His death.

Under modern conditions it is undesirable to lengthen the rite by using unnecessary words, but it would be a great gain, doctrinally and devotionally, if some such words as the following could be inserted between square brackets for occasional and optional use: "Who [having fulfilled for us in His own perfect manhood the whole law, at the end of the old Covenant and the beginning of the new one] in the same night that He was be-

[1] S. Matt. v. 17.

trayed," etc.; or, "Who [when He had fulfilled the old Covenant and would institute the new] in the same night," etc.; or, "Who [when He would, with His disciples, prepare for the true Passover, the self-sacrifice of the LAMB of GOD that taketh away the sin of the world, as they were at supper] in the night," etc. The first form contains 26 words, the second 12, and the third 32.

Here are some examples from Eastern rites:—

S. Chrysostom.—Who, having come and having fulfilled for us all the dispensation, in the night, etc.

Nestorius.—After He had kept the Passover with His disciples, according to the law of Moses, He instituted His own Passover, before He died, even this which we keep for His commemoration as He committed it unto us, until He be revealed from heaven. For our Passover is CHRIST Who was slain for us. And after supper of the Passover of the law of Moses, He took bread.

S. Mark.—In the night wherein He surrendered Himself for our sins, and suffered death in the flesh for all, sitting down at supper with His holy disciples and apostles, took bread.

John Bar-Maadan.—When He had accomplished and fulfilled in Himself the figures and shadows of the ancient law, as the LORD of both testaments, and willed to take away from the eyes of the Apostolic band the typical veil of prophecy, and to bear witness that the true body which of old was obscurely, and as it were afar off, prefigured, was now in a certain excellent manner close at hand; in that night which destroyed the night of sin and death; in that very night in which He was about to celebrate this religious sacrifice as a priest for the expiation of the whole world, He took bread, etc.

James of Edessa.—When therefore He was eating that legal lamb, which was the type of the heavenly LAMB, with His holy disciples, and willed to deliver us from corporal sacrifices of lambs, of bulls, and of kids, and to raise us to more worthy sacrifices, celestial and divine mysteries,—in that evening, in which He was about to give Himself up to be a sacrifice for us, He took bread, etc.[1]

But we must not assume, as some of these liturgies do, that our LORD ate the legal Passover on the Thursday–Friday night. For it was impossible to anticipate the Passover. The lambs needful for keeping it were not slain before the afternoon of Friday. At the very time that this was being done in the Temple,

[1] For other examples see Neale and Littledale, Appendix.

He, the LAMB of GOD, surrendered His life upon the altar of the Cross. That was on the day of the Preparation, 14th Nisan. The Feast of the Passover began at 6 p.m. of the Friday–Saturday night, the 15th Nisan, and then the Passover was eaten.

What, then, was the supper of which our LORD partook, and at which He instituted the Christian Passover, the Holy Eucharist?

The latest theory is that which Dr. Oesterley, developing suggestions of other scholars, has elaborated.[1] It was the custom of the Jews in our LORD's time, and long before it, to meet together in their households every Friday in the late afternoon for a social meal to inaugurate the Sabbath day. As it drew on a service of sanctification called *Kiddûsh* was held. This rite was extended to the great festivals, though still retaining its Sabbatical character. In this particular year the Feast of the Passover coincided with the Sabbath (*i.e.*, from 6 p.m. on Friday night to 6 p.m. on Saturday night). Consequently the day of the Preparation had to be from Thursday night to Friday night, and the *Kiddûsh* for both the Sabbath and the Passover must needs be held on Thursday–Friday night. At such a coincidence of festivals prayers for the sanctification of the Passover would be added to the usual weekly ones for hallowing the Sabbath [2] as they drank of the one cup and partook of the broken bread. Dr. Oesterley gives these prayers in full,[3] as well as a summary of them,[4] and then adds: "Thus, apart from the mention of the Vine and the Bread, the main thoughts may be expressed by the words: completion of (the) work (of Creation), Redemption (from Egypt), Election, Freedom, Joy." We can picture our LORD expounding these ideas so as to reveal to His Apostles, and through them to His Church, the true significance of this feast, the Christian Passover; the greater Deliverance He was about to effect by the voluntary death and sacrifice of Himself, the true "LAMB of GOD that taketh away the sin of the world"; the calling out of disciples from all nations to form the One Holy Catholic Church; and the New Covenant of grace bought by His death and ensuring Freedom and Joy to His Redeemed People.

The recital of the prayers for the Passover *Kiddûsh* would (as Dr. Oesterley writes [5]) "create what one might describe as a Passover atmosphere, which would be indelibly impressed upon the minds of the disciples. This would be further emphasised by the fact that the Crucifixion took place on the day on which the Passover lambs were sacrificed. That day of Preparation,

[1] *Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, pp. 167 ff.
[2] Examples of each are given by Dr. Oesterley on pp. 174, 176, 190.
[3] p. 81. [4] p. 185. [5] p. 176.

though not officially the first day of the Feast, would in the nature of things represent in the popular mind the actual beginning of it.

" Then, further, *Kiddûsh*, *whenever* it was said, made mention of the holy day, the Sabbath, which was thought of as a ' memorial of the Creation,' and as ' in remembrance of the departure out of Egypt,' always conceived and spoken of as an act of divine redemption.

" This being all so familiar to the disciples and to the generation of Jewish–Christians that followed, was it not the most natural thing in the world that they, in thinking of the sacrifice of CHRIST, and of His redemptive work, and of the memorial of Him, should have connected all these with the Passover, a great national institution, second only in importance to the Feast of Tabernacles, and have thought of the Last Supper as a Passover meal rather than of its connection with *Kiddûsh*?

" In this case it could be justly said that the Synoptic accounts reflect the popular conception, which in its essence was perfectly right, though chronologically inaccurate; while the fourth Gospel, written by one with more intimate knowledge, gives the more strictly accurate account." [1]

Who, in the same night that He was betrayed.—This is the Eastern expression. Western liturgies, except the Mozarabic, which agrees with the Eastern, have, " Who, the day before He suffered." The 1549 Rite reverted to the ancient British form. Scudamore [2] traces the composite form in the 1662 Rite to it, and points out that it closely resembles that of the old Spanish liturgy, both in its language and in its simplicity. And he adds: " It is difficult to think that the one is not immediately derived from the other. At all events it is interesting to remember that the old British liturgy was of the same family as the original Spanish, and that it is very probably (for its simplicity shows it can have undergone little or no change) almost word for word the form in use amongst the first Christian inhabitants of this land."

We may perhaps regret that the actual words and deeds of our Blessed LORD when He consecrated the first Eucharist have not been preserved to us. But we may surely believe that there is a good reason for this. Salient points seemed to have impressed themselves on different Apostles, and these only have been recorded by the Evangelists and S. Paul. But even a cursory

[1] See also Srawley, pp. 8 ff.; Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 150 ff.; V. Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel*, p. 37.

[2] p. 601.

examination of the liturgies will convince the student that these writers have given the merest outline of what took place on this momentous and unique occasion. Nor was there any reason, when they wrote, for giving elaborate details, because the celebration of this mystery had long been familiar to Christians "before whose eyes JESUS CHRIST was openly set forth crucified." [1] Linton writes,[2] "Both Clement of Rome (*c.* 98) and Justin Martyr (*c.* 150) claim that our LORD and the Apostles arranged the customs and regulations in connection with the Eucharist." But we must not suppose that these writers meant that our LORD gave to His Apostles a detailed liturgy. In that case we should find everywhere practically the same rite. Such a course would have been quite contrary to His invariable practice, which was to enunciate general principles and to refuse to give detailed rules. But we may reasonably believe that the worship of His Church was one "of the things pertaining to the kingdom of GOD" of which He spoke to them during those wonderful "forty days." [3] Therefore, where we find substantial agreement as to any word or deed, we may take it that it was said or done and that it was His will that it should be continued, seeing that "we . . . have by tradition received the example from" Him.[4]

This example, as far as we know it, will be the subject of the next chapter.

[1] Gal. iii. 1. [2] Linton, p. 2.

[3] Acts i. 3. [Scholars to-day are chary of putting weight on this verse which it seems unable to bear. The argument may perhaps be restated thus: The impressive agreement in all essentials of the various versions of the Canon leads us back to the age of the Apostles in our search for its origin. Further we cannot safely go. But we cannot doubt that the Twelve would, if challenged as to their mode of Eucharistic worship, as confidently as St. Paul have replied "We have the mind of Christ."]

[4] Linton, p. 70; cf. *supra*, p. 20.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING (*continued*)

THE COMMEMORATION OF THE INSTITUTION (*continued*)

He Took Bread.—Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* translates ἄρτος as a loaf of bread, especially of wheaten bread (barley bread is μᾶζα). Dr. Thayer in his *Lexicon of the New Testament* says: "The Israelites made it in the form of an oblong or round cake as thick as one's thumb and as large as a plate or platter. . . . Hence it was not cut but broken." Was the bread which our LORD took leavened or unleavened? We have no evidence, and we must therefore fall back upon tradition. Up to the eleventh century the universal Church used leavened bread. The Eastern Patriarchates still do so. But the Western ones gradually adopted the use of unleavened bread in the belief that our LORD kept the legal Passover, before which all leaven had been put away. Dr. Luckock [1] reviews the whole case very fully and Dr. Fortescue [2] gives the Western view; both assume that our LORD kept the Passover.

But if, as now seems highly probable, the Eucharist was instituted at the *Kiddûsh*, twenty-four hours before the Passover, as the search for leaven did not begin until some time later, it seems most likely that our LORD took the ordinary leavened loaf. If so, it confirms the unbroken use of the Church for more than half its present life.

The English rite allows either leavened or unleavened bread, but it insists upon the use of "the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten." Ordinary baker's bread, often mixed with potato and alum, does not comply with this specification. The breads made specially for Holy Communion by reputable firms are composed only of the finest wheat flour, and can be kept for a long time without deterioration.[3]

[1] *The Divine Liturgy*, pp. 379–385. [2] pp. 300–303.

[3] The following extract from J. C. Winslow's *The Eucharist in India* (p. 111) will be of interest in this connection:—

"*The Use of the Chapāti.*

"The wheaten 'chapāti' is the ideal bread in India for the celebration of the Eucharist. It has the advantages, without the disadvantages, both

Looking up to Heaven.—This was our LORD's constant habit, the natural physical expression of a complete spiritual union with His FATHER. "The Son of Man" conversing with Nicodemus in the flesh was then in spirit "in heaven." [1] "The FATHER hath not left me alone," [2] "I and the FATHER are one," [3] are sayings not recorded by the Synoptists. In the miracle of the deaf stammerer, "looking up to heaven He sighed" [4] is a description clearly given by an eye-witness. In that of the feeding of the five thousand (typical and prophetic of the Eucharist) each Synoptist says, "He looked up to heaven" before He "blessed," and "brake," and "gave." Yet S. John, who knew that these words had been written, merely says, "Having given thanks, He distributed." Is it not at least possible, rather is it not most likely, that at this solemn and unique moment "He looked up to" His Father before He "blessed," and "brake," and "gave" to His disciples what was of infinitely greater value than the loaves and fishes given to the multitude?

Scudamore [5] quotes Innocent III as ascribing these liturgical words to Apostolic tradition. More than half the ancient liturgies given by Linton contain these or similar words. Perhaps we might insert them, between square brackets, for optional and occasional use.

Giving Thanks.—That this was no brief, formal expression (such as ours has become) is evident from the emphasis laid upon it by all early writers. It must have made a deep impression upon the minds of the Apostles, for it has overshadowed and almost absorbed other acts and words of our LORD. If, as Justin Martyr attests, and all other liturgies than *Ap. Trad.* confirm, the liturgical thanksgiving was very long and comprehensive, and if it was so in imitation of our LORD's thanksgiving at the Institution, it is clear (and indeed most likely) that this embraced GOD's perfection and love, His creation and preservation of His creatures, His revelation to man, the redemption of all mankind from a worse slavery than that of Egypt, and the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice of Himself the LAMB of GOD.

We may almost see Him in our imagination taking the bread

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of the wafer and the ordinary bread used in England. On the one hand, it is unleavened bread, and if it is rightly made, need hardly crumble more than the wafer does. On the other hand, it is a common food of the people, which the wafer is not, and easily available everywhere; and, if its size be adjusted to the needs of the particular congregation, one chapātī may be divided amongst all the communicants up to almost any number, and the symbolism of the 'One Bread, One Body' preserved."

[1] S. John iii. 13. [2] *ib.*, viii. 29. [3] *ib.*, x. 30.
[4] S. Mark vii. 34. [5] p. 600.

into His hands and looking up to His FATHER at this solemn moment, when He was about to offer Himself for the sin of the whole world. Perhaps He would repeat the words used every Friday–Saturday evening—words of thanksgiving for the finished work of Creation. And then, maybe, He would adapt those other words, so well known to every faithful expectant Jew—words which His disciples had heard year by year at this season of the Passover, the feast of their redemption from Egypt. We may almost hear Him expanding these familiar sentences, and thanking GOD, His FATHER, for the New Creation to be wrought by His death, for the New Covenant of grace to be purchased by His precious Blood, and for the complete victory of all mankind in Himself by the Perfect Sacrifice of Himself upon the altar of the Cross. And we may picture to ourselves the culmination of this wonderful scene, the offering of Himself as that all-sufficient sacrifice—to be consummated during that day—and then the gift of the Blessed Sacrament of His BODY and His BLOOD as the Memorial of that unique Sacrifice, and, lastly, the solemn blessing of the Bread and Wine, which were henceforth to supersede the typical sacrifice of the Passover, and to be our spiritual Food and Sustenance until His coming again.

In our LORD's time, it should be remembered, the expressions "Giving Thanks" and "Blessed" had already acquired a technical meaning which was well known to all Jews. Probably that is why the Evangelists do not explain them; their readers would at once recognise their significance. It was the habit of the Jews to bless GOD, and to give Him thanks for their food before they ate, for their solemn feasts, and for each act commemorative of their redemption; and Jewish writers give many examples of forms of such "blessings" and "thanksgivings."

Blessed.—These "blessings" and "thanksgivings" sanctified the food they were about to eat, or the festival upon which they were entering, as the following example will show. It is the thanksgiving which was pronounced over the first Passover cup.[1]

> "Blessed art Thou, JEHOVAH our GOD, Who hast created the fruit of the vine! Blessed art Thou, JEHOVAH our GOD, King of the Universe, Who hast chosen us from among all people, and exalted us from among all languages, and sanctified us with Thy commandments! And Thou hast given us, O JEHOVAH our GOD, in love, the solemn days for joy, and the festivals and appointed seasons for gladness; and this the day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the season of our freedom, a holy convocation, the memorial of our departure

[1] A. Edersheim, *The Temple*, pp. 204, 205.

from Egypt. For us hast Thou chosen, and us hast Thou sanctified from among all nations; and Thy holy festivals with joy and with gladness hast Thou caused us to inherit. Blessed art Thou, O JEHOVAH, who sanctifiest Israel by the appointed seasons! Blessed art Thou, JEHOVAH, King of the universe, Who hast preserved us alive and sustained us and brought us to this season!"

If our LORD used, as we may conjecture, such a form in hallowing the bread and the cup, we can see why S. Mark and S. Matthew used εὐλογήσας, and S. Luke and S. Paul εὐχαριστήσας. The words are nearly synonymous. Both, according to Jewish usage, imply both a thanksgiving and a blessing.[1] The subsequent universal practice of the Church shows that it understood, from the earliest period, that the words included both these meanings, and that our LORD gave GOD thanks for the bread and wine, and also hallowed them for the purpose of communion. This consecration was effected by His divine power, but He must have used some visible sign, such as He had used in blessing the five loaves and the two fishes,[2] for it was instantly recognised by Cleopas and his fellow disciple when He repeated it at Emmaus.[3]

Brake.—This is almost universal. (See the Fraction in Chapter XXVII.)

Given.—Twenty-four Syrian liturgies have {"broken / "poured forth} and given for the remission of sins and life eternal." That of James Baradaeus has: "Because without any doubt it is {broken / poured forth} for the life of the world, and shall be to you and all that {believe / shall believe} in Me for the propitiation of offences, for the remission of sins, and eternal life. ℟. Amen." S. Eustathius has this remarkable form: "This is My {BODY / BLOOD} which prepareth you and all the faithful that receive it {for / to} life eternal." And S. Gregory of Alexandria: "This is My {BODY / BLOOD} the {food of righteousness / draught of life} whereof verily he who {eats shall live / drinks hath} {for ever and ever" / everlasting life"}.

Do this for a {Memorial / Remembrance} of Me.—This expression is to be

[1] See Srawley, p. 2. [2] S. Mark vi. 41. [3] S. Luke xxiv. 30.

found only in S. Luke and S. Paul. It is absent from many liturgies. Some of those which have it add, "for as often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup ye shall show forth My death and proclaim My resurrection until I come again" (or a like statement). Was S. Paul quoting the Apostolic liturgy—then over twenty years old—when he wrote I. Cor. xi. 26?

Do this.—Scudamore insists[1] that the true translation of ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν is "offer this for My memorial." His notes should be carefully studied. Ποιεῖν means (1) to make, form, bring about; observe, celebrate; only (2) to do. In the LXX. it occurs in Ex. xxix. 36, Lev. vi. 22, I Kings viii. 64, Ps. lxvi. 15, where it is translated "offer." In Ex. x. 25 it is rendered "sacrifice." And it is generally so understood in Eastern liturgies.

But modern scholarship holds that "Do this" must be taken in its full and literal meaning, and must include all that our Lord did and intended and commanded at this supreme moment. While the expression undoubtedly includes sacrifice and offering, it cannot be limited to that one act of His. Its scope is very much wider, and it embraces (1) a personal, loving, thankful recollection of all that He did and suffered for every child of man; (2) a corporate, definite, objective memorial before God of His death and sacrifice; and (3) a faithful and reverent obedience to His command to take, eat, and drink that which He has blessed and hallowed and given, and which He Himself has called His Body, His Blood, so that we may feast upon the memorial sacrifice, and participate in all the benefits of His death and passion, and evermore share His divine life.

We cannot limit, without much loss, our Saviour's command to any one of these three aspects. We must include them all. All are of equal importance—the personal loving thankful remembrance, the corporate pleading before God, and the loyal obedience to Christ's command to take and eat and drink, discerning the Gift of Himself, and in faith that He will do for us all that He has promised.[2]

In Remembrance of Me.—Thus this translation of our Lord's words is inadequate and misleading. As far as the writer knows it is peculiar to English-speaking Christianity. It emphasises unduly the first and subjective aspect, almost to the exclusion of the second and objective, and it obscures and makes difficult the discernment which is essential to a worthy participation in

[1] p. 623.

[2] [The above account can hardly be accepted as a summary of the results of "modern scholarship." Ποιεῖν in Greek is a neutral word, as "do" is in English; in a sacrificial context it will take a sacrificial colouring. The author's deductions are theological and devotional rather than critical.]

this holy sacrament. The use of the preposition and the article in the Greek throws the emphasis on the objective sense rather than on the subjective. This expression has been translated into many languages. Linton has rendered it back into English, and it is noteworthy that in every instance he gives as its meaning, "Do this for My Memorial." Perhaps this may lay too much stress on the objective aspect, and its tone may strike the ear as a little harsh. "Do this for a memorial (remembrance) of Me" is better.

Memory is another word of which the meaning has completely changed within three hundred years. Formerly it was often used objectively as well as subjectively. Webster, indeed, gives "service of commemoration" as its sixth meaning, but adds that this is now obsolete. The average man understands the words "in memory (or remembrance) of me" to mean "recollecting me," "stimulating your memory" by this means. This idea has done more to lower the dignity of this blessed sacrament to a mere act of personal recollection than anything else. People naturally say, "I know that CHRIST died for me; I do not need to 'do this' to remind me of that fact; of what use is it? I can get quite as much good from reading my Bible at home." No Eastern Christian who is used to the Greek words could possibly make this grave mistake, or attach such a meaning to CHRIST'S command.

Now S. Luke was a scholar, and he always chose the word best suited to express his meaning. He would be careful to use in his Gospel the exact Greek equivalent of the Aramaic word spoken by our LORD, which the Apostolic tradition had handed down.[1] If S. Luke had wished to convey the modern meaning of a mere subjective abstract recollection, he had several nouns suitable for the purpose, *e.g.*, *μνήμη*, "remembrance," or *μνεία*, or *ὑπόμνησις*, used for this purpose in 2 Tim. i, 5, and 2 Peter i. 13 and iii. 1, or he might have said, as the dying robber did, *μνήσθητί μου*, "remember me."[2] But, by contrast, he deliberately chose an objective noun to express a concrete "memorial," and, what is more striking, *words generally understood in a sacrificial sense when he wrote*. That "memorial" is S. Paul's meaning is clear from 1 Cor. xi. 27, "For ye do show forth, proclaim, the LORD'S death."[3] And if (as some scholars think) these words are derived from the Apostolic liturgy, it makes the case much stronger. It is quite impossible to make this pleading, this proclamation, by a mere inward, subjective recollection. It can only be done by an outward objective memorial. Moreover,

[1] S. Luke i. 2.
[2] *ib.*, xxiii. 42.
[3] [*καταγγέλλετε*. But this may equally well refer to a proclaiming to men.]

every ancient liturgy, both Eastern and Western, has a distinct Anamnesis *and* Oblation.

But it is more than precarious to build an argument upon words. It is dangerous, for one is always apt to "read into" a passage one's preconceived opinion. The question is what interpretation the Universal Church placed upon our LORD's command. If it was unanimous we may fairly conclude that she was guided, according to His express promise, by the HOLY SPIRIT, and that the interpretation she gave and the practice she evolved from it was the mind of GOD. With this aspect of the question the next chapter will deal.

PART II

CHAPTER VII

THE ANAMNESIS AND OBLATION

We now come to the second main verb in *Ap. Trad.* "We offer to Thee this bread and this cup."[1] That which is offered is called here "this oblation of Thy Holy Church." And to this offering *Ap. Trad.* prefixes its Anamnesis, "Mindful, therefore, of His death and resurrection."

The Anamnesis is, as Linton says,[2] the link between our Lord's command and our obedience to it, *i.e.*, the Oblation. It is curious that the 1549 Prayer Book and its derivatives, the Scottish-American Rites, should have reversed the natural order and have placed the Anamnesis after the Oblation. The Non-Jurors', South African, and 1928 English Rites do not make this mistake. But in the Syrian Jacobite Liturgy there is a precedent for it—the only one (so far as I know) in the East.[3]

The Anamnesis and Oblation are, as we saw in the last chapter,[4] two aspects of our obedience to our Lord's command—the first inward and subjective, the second outward and objective. And thankful remembrance is the motive for joyful memorial. Without the former the personal benefit and virtue of making the latter is lost to the individual soul.

(1) *The Anamnesis.*—But the liturgical Anamnesis is much more than a vehicle of personal grateful recollection. It is the collective hymn of joyful, triumphal praise from the whole Church, both from us who are still striving here, and from those who are at rest in the many mansions above. It may be likened to a searchlight of infinite magnitude in which the spiritual eye of every redeemed soul forms a distinct ray, and in which all are concentrated, as they scan together the mystery of salvation. Their combined and awestruck vision sweeps rapidly over the marvels of the Incarnation, the Life, the Passion, the Death, and the Ascension of their Lord. And then, like that of the Apostles, it becomes stationary, focussed upon His session at God's right hand and in eager expectation of His second coming in glory to complete and consummate their redemption.

[1] See p. 20. [2] p. xiii. [3] Linton, p. 52. [4] p. 39.

But, beautiful and thrilling as is this hymn of thankful remembrance, it is both incomplete and unsatisfying in itself. It resembles the chord of the minor seventh—perhaps the most beautiful in music—on which the ear loves to dwell, but which may not be prolonged unduly. Our musical sense demands that it be resolved into the chord of the tonic, which alone can satisfy the soul. In like manner we cannot be content with mere recollection, either personal or collective, but must consummate our remembrance in visible material oblation—the oblation which our most human and yet divine LORD provided in order that the Church's great "Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving" might be complete.

Not as individuals, or even as a congregation, but as corporate members of CHRIST, children of GOD, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven, do we approach the FATHER and plead His dear SON's death and sacrifice, the atonement He made for all mankind upon the Cross. The remembrance of His whole work of redemption and the memorial of it before GOD are made by and on behalf of His universal Church for all its needs, individual and corporate, temporal and eternal. It is the Church's mode of intercession made in obedience to her LORD's command,[1] and in reliance on His promise.[2] For in some mysterious, spiritual, and quite indefinable way it pleads before GOD the merits of our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, and His unique sacrifice on the Cross.

The Anamnesis in *Ap. Trad.*[3] is, we notice, very simple and restrained as compared with the exultant tone of *A. and M.* In *Serapion*[4] this feature is lacking, but in both the Coptic and Greek versions of *S. Mark*[5] it is very fully developed. In the Syrian Anaphoras it is sometimes florid, as, *e.g.*, in *Syr. S. Chrys.*[6], *Theodore*[7] does not enumerate any of our LORD's acts, but follows *A. and M.*, and then adds, "Lifting up praise and honour to the FATHER and to the SON and to the HOLY SPIRIT, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen." The study of the examples given by Linton will be interesting and instructive and will lead to a wider exploration. We shall note the poverty of the Gallican and Mozarabic forms in the Masses which he has supplied.[8] *De Sacramentis*[9] is in this respect *Ap. Trad.* slightly expanded, and *Rome*[10] still more so. From the last rite the Liturgy of the 1549 Prayer Book was derived. Its Anamnesis is noble.[11] But in the 1552 book which followed it this Anamnesis was scattered to the four winds.

[1] S. John xvi. 23–27. [2] *ib.* and xiv. 11, 13, 14. [3] p. 20.
[4] Linton, p. 86. [5] *ib.*, pp. 90 and 104. [6] *ib.*, p. 47. [7] *ib.*, p. 75.
[8] *ib.*, pp. 110–123. [9] *ib.*, p. 127. [10] *ib.*, p. 126. [11] *ib.*, p. 129.

Yet the Holy Spirit did not allow the Church in England to be deprived of all Anamnesis. Much careful search is needed to piece its remnants together—dispersed and obscured as they have been. They may be found in the following disjointed sentences, the words in square brackets being supplied to make sense of them: [Wherefore] " O Lord and heavenly Father " . . . [Whose most dearly beloved Son] " did institute, and in His holy gospel command us to continue, a perpetual Memory of that His precious death until His coming again " . . . " We Thy humble servants " . . . " according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution in remembrance of His Death and Passion," . . . " entirely desire Thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." That this reconstruction is not (as may be said) an unfair mutilation of sentences which have an entirely different context, but, on the contrary, a reversion to the original idea, will be seen by comparing it with the 1549 book and its Scottish and American derivatives.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ANAMNESIS AND OBLATION (*continued*)

(2) *The Oblation—We offer.*—So in *Ap. Trad.* and its derivatives, *A.C.*, *S. James*, *Severus Ant.*, and other Syrian rites; *S. Chrys.*, *S. Basil*, *Armenian*, *Malabar*, *Nestorius*, *Serapion*; *S. Basil Alex.*, *S. Gregory Alex.*; *De Sacr.*, *Rome*, *Non. J.*, *Scot.*, *America*, and *S. Afr.* *S. Mark* has: "We . . . have set before Thy sight," the *Coptic version*: "we lay out these holy gifts." 1549 has: "We celebrate and make here . . . the memorial, etc." In the *Gallican* the Oblation is implied. In the *Mozarabic*, "We place upon Thine altar." The idea of a memorial offering is universal. Only in the 1662 Rite is it so obscured as to be almost unrecognisable.

Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the truth that the offering is made by the whole Body of CHRIST, in its name and on its behalf, by those of its members whom CHRIST Himself has chosen and ordained [1] for this purpose. In this holy Body the HOLY SPIRIT abides, and through these members, to whom He has been given for this function, He exercises it. The whole Church is "an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, GOD's own purchased people"; [2] "made a kingdom . . . priests unto GOD"; [3] "living stones . . . built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to GOD through JESUS CHRIST." [4] Through Him, therefore, it is their bounden duty and service to "offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to His Name." [5] This the Holy Church—lay members as well as clerical—does, in the power of the HOLY SPIRIT, through its ordained ministry, in the Anamnesis. And then, seeing that they "have an altar," [6] they likewise offer the Oblation of bread and wine, the memorial which CHRIST willed them to make when He said: τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

This bread and this cup.—So in all the most ancient documents except *A. and M.*[7] The Syrian and Constantinopolitan variations

[1] S. John xv. 16. [2] 1 S. Pet. ii. 9. [3] Rev. i. 6.
[4] 1 S. Pet. ii. 5. [5] Heb. xiii. 15. [6] Heb. xiii. 10.
[7] See p. 20.

are: *S. James*,[1] "this terrible and unbloody sacrifice"; *Severus Ant.*,[2] "this unbloody sacrifice"; *S. Chrys.*,[3] "this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice." *S. Basil*[4] has: "The antitypes of the holy BODY and BLOOD" in connection with "gifts." The *Armenian* rite has[5]: "Presenting unto Thee this saving mystery of the BODY and BLOOD of Thine Only-Begotten SON." In the far Eastern group we get: *S. Theodore*,[6] "this living and holy and acceptable sacrifice, the mystery of the LAMB of GOD which taketh away the sin of the world"; Nestorius[7] expands this to: "This sacrifice living and holy and acceptable and glorified and awful and exalted and spotless"; *Malabar* (perhaps the most ancient of the group) has: "The remembrance of the BODY and BLOOD of Thy CHRIST." *A. and M.* has similar words, but in a paragraph which Dr. Gummey thinks is a later interpolation.[8] Both of these most ancient liturgies have the Anamnesis quoted on p. 20.

In Egypt, *Serapion*[9] has: "To Thee we have offered this bread, the likeness of the BODY of the ONLY BEGOTTEN . . . we have offered also the cup, the likeness of the BLOOD"; the *Coptic* version of *S. Mark* (called "S. Cyril")[10] has: "We lay out these holy gifts from these things that are Thine, O holy FATHER"; the *Greek* version:[11] "We . . . have set before Thy sight Thine own of Thine own gifts"; *S. Basil, Alex.*[12] has the same expression but substitutes "We offer to Thee" for "We have set before Thy sight"; and *S. Gregory, Alex.*[13] has exactly the same phrase.

Of the two Mozarabic Masses given by Linton the first[14] has: "We place upon Thine altar these offerings of bread and wine." Let us note well that these words are said not at the Offertory but in the *Post Pridie*, i.e., *as the Oblation*, after the words of Institution have been recited, and before the Epiclesis is said. In the second Mass[15] which he gives there is neither Oblation nor Epiclesis, and in his two *Gallican* examples[16] there is only an *implied* Oblation. It will be necessary to examine a much greater number of these variable Masses before it can be said what was the original attitude of the churches represented by these Rites to the Oblation. In *De Sacramentis*[17] the Oblation is: "We offer to Thee this pure sacrifice, this reasonable sacrifice, unbloody sacrifice, this holy bread and cup of eternal life," but in the preliminary Oblation it is called "the figure of the BODY and BLOOD of our LORD JESUS CHRIST." The Gregorian Canon of *Rome*[18]

[1] Linton, p. 42. [2] *ib.*, p. 52. [3] *ib.*, p. 57. [4] *ib.*, p. 63.
[5] *ib.*, p. 66. [6] *ib.*, p. 75. [7] *ib.*, p. 82.
[8] Cf. p. 20 with Linton, p. 70. [9] Linton, pp. 85, 86.
[10] *ib.*, p. 104. [11] *ib.*, p. 90. [12] *ib.*, p. 94.
[13] *ib.*, p. 100. [14] *ib.*, p. 119. [15] *ib.*, p. 123.
[16] *ib.*, p. 113. [17] *ib.*, p. 127. [18] *ib.*, p. 126.

has: "We . . . offer unto Thy most excellent Majesty, of Thy gifts and favours, a pure sacrifice, a holy sacrifice, an immaculate sacrifice, the Holy Bread of eternal life, and the Chalice of everlasting salvation."

In the *English* Book of 1549[1] the expression used is: "We, Thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make"; the *Scottish* and *American* Books insert "which we now offer unto Thee" after "holy gifts," and substitute "commanded" for "willed"; and the Oblation of the *Non-Jurors*[2] is: "We offer to Thee, our King and our God . . . this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee through Him, that Thou hast vouchsafed us the honour to stand before Thee, and to sacrifice unto Thee"—thus reverting to the earliest known form. The *South African* form is: "We offer here unto Thy divine majesty this holy Bread of eternal life, and this cup of eternal salvation." The 1928 *English Rite* is: "We Thy humble servants . . . do celebrate, and set forth, before Thy Divine Majesty with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which He hath willed us to make."

As regards the *form* of the Oblation, these Anaphoras fall into four main divisions :—

(*a*) *Ap. Trad.* and its derivatives and at least one *Mozarabic* Mass use the expression "this bread and this cup" (or "wine"). In what was probably the earliest form of *A. and M.*, in *Syrian S. Chrysostom* and some of the *Gallican* and *Mozarabic* Masses the Oblation is implied or else missing.

(*b*) *Serapion*, *De Sacramentis*, *S. Basil*, *Armenia*, *S. Theodore*, and what are possibly later versions of *A. and M.* and *Malabar* use the following very similar expressions: "likeness," "figure," "antitypes," "saving mystery" or "commemoration" "of the Body and Blood of Christ" or "of the Lamb of God."

(*c*) In *S. James*, *Severus Ant.*, *S. Chrysostom*, *Nestorius*, *S. Mark* (both Coptic and Greek), and the *Alexandrian S. Basil* and *S. Gregory* are to be found such terms as: "This terrible" (or "reasonable") "and unbloody sacrifice" or "this sacrifice."

(*d*) *De Sacramentis* combines all these expressions, and the *Gregorian Canon* combines (*c*) with (*a*), the latter adding the expressions "holy" and "immaculate sacrifice," and both qualify the words "bread" and "cup."

As regards *time* these Anaphoras come more or less in the same order:—

(*a*) Most of these are older than 375, and if some of them

[1] Linton, p. 129. [2] *ib.*, p. 132.

are of a later date, they adhere generally to the more ancient expressions.

(*b*) date from 350 to 400;

(*c*) are later; and of

(*d*) the first is usually dated 400, and the second was not finally settled till nearly 600.

It would seem, therefore, from a comparison of *form* and *time*, that for at least three and a half centuries the simple offering of bread and wine was mainly eucharistic in character. That is, it was made for a thankful memorial of the redemption effected by the life and death of CHRIST our LORD.

Then came a short period of transition (which may have overlapped on either side) when the memorial was described as a "likeness" of the sacrifice of the Cross.

But from at least the end of the fourth century the expression "terrible," which was gaining ground, indicates the belief that the eucharistic offering was more than a mere "likeness" (for that term was soon dropped). Yet the expression "bloodless" shows that, while it was distinguished from the sacrifices of the law, it was not as yet identified—except at least in a mystical sense—with that of the Cross.

This analysis shows, then, that there has always been in the eucharistic rite a visible material Oblation of bread and wine in obedience to our LORD's command: "Do this for a remembrance or memorial of Me," and that this Oblation was made as a memorial of His death and sacrifice. It is also clear that the conception of its *mystical* meaning and of its *symbolical* significance has been a matter of gradual development.

Development was certainly going on slowly, and this agrees with what Dr. Srawley writes regarding the development of the doctrine as taught by the Fathers. This must be considered in another chapter.

CHAPTER IX

THE ANAMNESIS AND OBLATION (*continued*)

THE TEACHING OF THE FATHERS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

On the subject of the development of doctrine Dr. Srawley writes:[1] "In our earliest sources (Clement, *Didache*) the sacrifice is primarily eucharistic, and the same is true of Irenaeus.[2] In Justin (150) combined with this we have special emphasis on the memorial of the Passion.[3] Cyprian is the first definitely to speak of the eucharistic sacrifice as an offering of the Body and Blood of Christ, though side by side with this, we find him speaking of 'offering the cup in commemoration of the Passion.'" Dr. Srawley also writes:[4] "Cyprian's language on the sacrifice in the Eucharist marks a considerable advance on that of Tertullian and was probably in advance of that of his time. The two elements in which this advance is shown are (1) the definite conception of the eucharistic sacrifice as the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, (2) the association of this sacrifice with the sacrifice of the Cross." "But" (he says elsewhere)[5] "in the language of Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom we find a much more advanced conception. The Eucharist is the 'holy and awful sacrifice,' 'the sacrifice of propitiation,' over which God is intreated for the common peace of the churches. 'We offer Christ sacrificed for our sins, while we propitiate the loving God' on behalf of the living and the dead.[6] Chrysostom uses similar language and speaks of the 'Lord sacrificed and lying before you and the priest standing over the sacrifice and praying,'[7] though elsewhere he guards against the idea that there is any repetition of the sacrifice of the Cross. 'We do not offer a different sacrifice . . . but always the same, or rather we celebrate a memorial of a sacrifice.'"[8]

Again[9] the same author quotes S. Augustine (395–430), who "speaks definitely of the Eucharist as 'the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ,' and in connection with the practice of

[1] p. 236. [2] Cf. Srawley, pp. 29 f., 39. [3] *Dial.* 39.
[4] p. 138. [5] *ib.*, p. 237. [6] *Cat.* xxiii. 8, 10.
[7] *De Sacerd.* iii. 4. [8] *In Heb.* xvii. 3. [9] p. 241.

offering the Eucharist for the departed, a practice which already in the time of Tertullian found a place in the North African Church, he developed a theory of the Eucharistic sacrifice as propitiatory in character, which is more advanced than anything of the kind found in the West before Gregory the Great."

In the same book [1] Dr. Srawley compares the teaching of S. Augustine with that of S. Optatus, who was bishop of Milevis, and wrote his work against the Donatists about A.D. 363. Optatus calls the altar "the seat of the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST," the place "where His BODY and His BLOOD used to dwell for certain moments of time." The chalices "carry the BLOOD of CHRIST."[2] "On the other hand Augustine is singularly free from this 'localising' tendency, and his thought is more closely related to that of Tertullian and Cyprian, of which it represents a more reflective and developed stage. But it is possible that Augustine is here less representative of popular piety in North Africa than Optatus. Augustine is dominated by a theory of sacraments, the chief feature of which is the distinction between the visible sign and the invisible *res*. In this respect the influence of his teaching held in check for some centuries in the West the newer developments which from the fourth century onwards tended to emphasise the conversion of the elements and a 'localised' view of the eucharistic presence. On the other hand, Augustine's conception of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, while gathering up the various elements in earlier thought, took shape in a very explicit theory. Like Cyprian, he dwells upon the fact that it is 'the sacrifice of the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST.' [3] Like Cyprian again he relates it to the sacrifice of the Cross.[4] But he advances beyond Cyprian in his conception of its propitiatory value, especially in connection with the offering of it for the departed." [5]

Now we must face this language fairly and squarely, neither underrating nor exaggerating its significance. We dare not shut our ears to it, or try to explain away what is distasteful to our prejudice. For it is heard in clarion tones as early in the Church's life as the fourth century, and it is uttered by such great doctors and spiritual leaders and saints as these are. What does it really mean? Several considerations occur to us.

(1) It is the language of Africa and Asia; and that of the East is always more pictorial and rhetorical than that of the West. The Eastern soul sees in everything a spiritual significance which

[1] pp. 142 f.
[2] *c. Donat.* vi. 1. 2.
[3] *De An. et Orig.* i. 11, 13; ii. 15, 21; cf. *Conf.* ix. 12, 32, *sacrificium pretii nostri*.
[4] *c. Faust.* xx. 18, 21; *Ep.* xcviii. 9 (*ad Bonifacium*); *De Civ. Dei*, x. 20.
[5] See, e.g., *De An. et Orig.* ii. 15, 21; *Enchirid.* 110. Cf. *Serm.* 172. 2.

the Western and more literal mind does not perceive, and the cold Northern mind cannot readily grasp.

(2) To what extent, then, did these great spiritually-minded Fathers use this language symbolically, and how far did they view the subject literally? In S. Chrysostom's case the voice is the voice of the orator of the golden tongue, and oral teaching is always less exact than that of a written document. And his second statement certainly qualifies his first, which can only be understood in a mystical sense, and shows that he viewed the whole matter symbolically. S. Augustine's statement first quoted also becomes quite reasonable if the word "mystical" be prefixed to it. The Eucharist is the mystical sacrifice of the BODY and BLOOD of our SAVIOUR in the view of S. Paul,[1] and therefore this statement of S. Augustine's is quite scriptural. In like manner his remaining assertions, *if taken in a mystical sense*, can be accepted by the staunchest Evangelical. For if, by our act of faith and obedience to CHRIST's command, we plead His death and merits before GOD, then the ordained Oblation is intercessory, and the merits of CHRIST are applied to our petitions which are made in His Name.[2] They then become *in a sense* propitiatory, because they are blended by our Great Intercessor with His own propitiatory merits. So then it is in fact not our oblation, or our obedience, or our petitions that avail *in themselves*, but CHRIST and His merits, which we plead in His own way.

(3) This language is not the considered judgment of the Church as expressed in her authorised formularies. It does not occur in any Eastern Liturgy, where the oblation is the early and universal one of bread and wine, "the outward visible sign" made as the memorial of CHRIST's sacrifice. And this Oblation is always there made *before* the HOLY SPIRIT is implored to come and rest upon it, that it may become to the worshippers "the inward part and thing signified," the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST. Nor is it to be found in *De Sacramentis* (400), which calls the oblation "the figure of the BODY and BLOOD of our LORD JESUS CHRIST . . . this pure . . . reasonable . . . unbloody sacrifice, this holy bread and cup of eternal life."[3] Leo I (440–461) added to this prayer the words "the holy sacrifice and spotless host."[4] But Bingham says that the adoration of the host was not practised until the twelfth century.[5] Even in the Gregorian Canon the words employed are quite capable of a symbolical sense, but (as we shall see later) their import has been modified

[1] Gal. iii. 1—["before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified." The writer sees a eucharistic meaning in this].
[2] S. John xvi. 23–27. [3] Linton, p. 127. [4] *ib.*, p. 126.
[5] [Cf. Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, i. 249*f.*]

greatly by the absence of an Epiclesis in this rite, by a doctrine that has been evolved since S. Augustine's time, and by a ceremonial that has been added at a much later date.

(4) We must distinguish clearly between a doctrine that is *de fide* and a personal private opinion which is allowable. Such opinions are needed to avoid stagnation. They are mental movements made in the effort—the natural and rightful instinct—to comprehend and to assimilate eternal truth—movements made at the instigation of the Holy Spirit Himself, who is ever guiding His Church, by using human brain, into all truth. But they are the combined result of the co-operation of the finite mind with the Infinite Wisdom of God. In so far as they accord with the latter they are wholly true. But the former, being fallible, may introduce elements that are discordant with the whole truth, or they may emphasise one aspect which is merely a part of, and not the whole, truth. And this is so, not only of individuals but also of groups of minds—even those of great saints—in both place and period. We have, in every matter, to get back to, and weigh every consideration by, the Catholic scale of *semper*, *ab omnibus*, *ubique* before we pin our faith to any given opinion or doctrine.

Unfortunately the Western Patriarchate has committed herself to certain definitions. For the Western mind loves a definition, and, having reached a certain conception of a truth, delights to take further logical steps. Its object would seem to be to bring heaven down to earth and to compress it into human dimensions. Whereas the genius of the Eastern temperament enables it to soar into the seventh heaven, and to view heavenly things with a heavenly vision. Heavenly truth is incapable of being compressed into algebraical formulae.

We shall consider these definitions and the Eastern and Northern view of this subject in another chapter.

CHAPTER X

ANAMNESIS AND OBLATION

WESTERN, EASTERN, AND NORTHERN DOCTRINES

We must pass over the period between Chrysostom and Cranmer, and the development of doctrine which the Schoolmen evolved, and note that no *official* definition was given by any Council until the Western one of Trent, which in Session XXII (September 1562) affirmed:—

> (1) That Christ left to His Church in the Holy Eucharist "a visible sacrifice . . . whereby that bloody sacrifice once for all to be accomplished on the cross might be represented, and His memorial might abide even unto the end of the world, and the saving power of the sacrifice of the Cross might be applied to the remission of those sins which we daily commit." . . . "And this indeed is that pure oblation . . . which the Lord foretold by Malachi was to be offered in every place," etc. "The Victim is one and the same," the Same "now offers by the ministry of priests," Who then "offered Himself on the cross," "the method of offering alone being different."

So in Canon I the Council states:

"In the Mass a true and proper sacrifice is . . . offered to God."

In Canon II:—

> "In the words, 'Do this for My memorial,' Christ . . . appointed the apostles priests," and "that they and other priests should offer His Body and Blood."

In Canon III:

> "The sacrifice of the Mass is [not] only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," or "a bare commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the Cross. . . ."[1]

[1] See Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, ii. 96*f*.

The remaining six Canons do not affect the question of the Oblation, and need not be quoted here.

It will be noted that this language is much more restrained than that of S. Cyprian, S. Cyril, or S. Chrysostom, but it is certainly meant in a solemnly literal sense. It is at least possible that the Fathers spoke symbolically.

The Roman Catholic Bishop J. C. Hedley wrote: [1]

> "It would appear, therefore, that the *representative* character of the Mass is the very key to the understanding of what it essentially is. This does not mean that its essence is to 'represent' or 'commemorate.' To speak in such a way would be to express the heresy of the Protestant reformers. It means that, if we can discover what precisely it is, in the action of the Mass, that represents the death of JESUS CHRIST, we shall have discovered what it is that is the very heart and being of the Sacrifice."

On this we may remark (1) that no one now understands that the sacrifice of the Eucharist merely *represents* or *pictures* the sacrifice of the Cross, but that it *represents* and *sets forth* and *pleads afresh* before the FATHER what the Eternal SON did once for all upon the CROSS; and (2) that it is quite impossible to express in human terms all that the sacrifice of the Cross, and its representative sacrifice of the Eucharist includes, or in what the latter consists. It is futile to attempt to do so. And this futility the learned Bishop practically admits by writing: [2] "In order, then, to understand—*so far as we are permitted to understand*—where the essential point of the Sacrifice lies," etc. Definition of so great a mystery is a human impossibility.

As far as we know the Church in the Eastern Patriarchates has never attempted by any Council nor in any Canon to define the manner in which the Holy Eucharist is a sacrifice, or to determine in what the sacrificial act consists. And it is quite certain that no œcumenical council has considered the question.

But the teaching of Eastern theologians has been collected by Dr. Frank Gavin, and published in his *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought*. From this book the following extracts are taken:—

> "'The Eucharist offered on the LORD'S table is a Sacrifice . . . to which fact Sacred Tradition with a single and unbroken witness testifies.' The writings of the early Fathers, the *Didache*, the early Liturgies and the early synods, all unanimously proclaim this great fact. . . .
>
> "'But it is not merely a representation of the death of our

[1] *The Holy Eucharist*, p. 159. [2] *ib.*, p. 162.

LORD, but an actual and real sacrifice, in which the Offerer and the Victim are one and the same, our LORD, even if the sacrifice be offered by the priest . . . it is not simply a reminder or commemoration of the historical fact of Golgotha, but an actual and objective sacrifice, inasmuch as our LORD in His high-priestly office is really present.' The bond between the sacrifice of the Eucharist and that of Calvary is so intimate and necessary that one might say that ' they coincide, inasmuch as both have the same Offerer and the same Thing Offered, the same Sacrificer and the same Victim —our LORD JESUS CHRIST. . . . What then are the differences and likenesses between the sacrifice of the Eucharist and that of the Cross? The resemblance consists in the identity of Victim, Offerer, and Act. The differences are in the form, purpose, and circumstances of the Eucharist as distinguished from Calvary. The death of CHRIST occurred once for all, and may not be repeated. ' By the death of the Cross our LORD wrought the Redemption of mankind in general, reconciling man with GOD; the aim of the sacrifice of the Eucharist is the personal appropriation and reception of the benefits of the Cross . . . on Golgotha our LORD offered His bodily life in a bloody sacrifice; in the Eucharist He sacrifices Himself by the priest in a bloodless and *mystical* way.' The bond between the two sacrifices is brought out clearly in the Liturgies. ' In the Eucharist, our LORD, actuated by the same love and obedience from which the Sacrifice of Golgotha proceeded, presents anew the sacrifice consummated on Golgotha, for the personal acceptance and application of its benefits. . . . It is not a new act of immolation of CHRIST, but a new presentation of the sole and final Sacrifice.' [1]

" In answer to the question, In what does the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist consist? various theories have been propounded."

The author then gives at some length instances of three classes of answers to this question and adds:

" The sacrificial character of the Eucharist has a threefold aspect. The Eucharist is an expiatory and propitiatory sacrifice, a sacrifice of ' Praise and Thanksgiving,' and an impetratory and intercessory sacrifice. These constitute the essential character of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, as well as the fruits of that sacrifice. . . . This threefold character of the eucharistic sacrifice the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, and

[1] pp. 348–351. The quotations are from Androutsos.

> the Liturgies all teach with one voice. Its impetratory and efficacious power is not dependent on us or our failings, but on the intrinsic worth and merits of Him who is offered. It is only as Holy Communion that personal conditions enter into the question as determining the effects and fruits of this great Sacrifice. As a sacrifice of intercession it is predetermined in its scope by the will of the all-wise and all-loving GOD alone." [1]

This threefold character in the eucharistic sacrifice is what the Caroline divines taught. It is unnecessary to quote Laud, Andrewes or Patrick here, for their writings are well known and within the reach of students. But it may be as well to give a less known statement of Cosin, who had, perhaps, more to do with the 1662 revision than any other bishop. Commenting upon the words "full perfect and sufficient sacrifice . . . of *that* His precious death," he writes: [2]—

> "This word [*that*] refers to the sacrifice mentioned before, for we still continue and commemorate that sacrifice which CHRIST once made upon the Cross. And this sacrifice which the Church makes, as a sacrifice is taken *pro mactatione et occasione victimæ*, is only commemorative and sacramental; for in that sense CHRIST only offered it really upon the Cross by His own death; and so likewise, as it is taken for a visible sacrifice, CHRIST only offered it; for here it is invisible: for as it is taken for a sufficient sacrifice to take away the sins of the world, so indeed it was offered upon the cross, as having power in itself to abolish all sin whatsoever; but doth not abolish any man's sins for all that, unless it be applied."

And coming down to quite recent times, we may note that the reply made by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to Pope Leo XIII (who, in his famous letter on Anglican Orders, had written that he could find no clear statement of the eucharistic sacrifice in the Prayer Book) contained the following:—

> "First we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; then next we plead and represent before the FATHER the sacrifice of the cross . . . and lastly, we offer the sacrifice of ourselves to the Creator of all things which we have already signified by the oblations of His creatures. This whole action, in which the people has necessarily to take part with the Priest, we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic sacrifice."

[1] pp. 351–353, summarising Androutsos.
[2] *Notes and Collections on the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 106, 107 (vol. V in *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, 1855).

CHAPTER XI

ANAMNESIS AND OBLATION

A BASIS FOR UNITY

Our inquiry shows, then, that:

(1) The Eucharist has always been regarded as the Christian sacrifice.

(2) There has always been in the eucharistic rite an outward, visible, and material oblation of bread and wine solemnly offered to God. This oblation was always made after the words of Institution had been recited, in obedience to our Lord's command, as a memorial or representation of His sacrifice on the Cross.

(3) Throughout the Eastern Patriarchates, and in at least parts of the Western Patriarchate, this "oblation" was made before the Invocation of the Holy Spirit was uttered.

(4) It is obvious that, altogether apart from the eucharistic rite, there must be some way of pleading before God the sacrifice of the Cross, for our own needs and those of others. For it is our only plea, it constitutes our only hope. Ordinarily we end our petitions with the words, "Through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord." The oblation in the Eucharist is the divinely appointed way of doing the same thing by act as well as word.

(5) Conceptions as to the nature and mystical meaning of the memorial sacrifice have varied from time to time. This must be so in any human attempt to comprehend the incomprehensible, as, *e.g.*, the doctrine of the atonement. Definition is therefore futile and confusing.

This being so, may we not ask ourselves:

(*a*) Will not the language of *Ap. Trad.* and the teaching of the first two and a half centuries be common ground upon which all Christians (or at least all Catholic Christians) may find a firm foothold?

(*b*) Cannot we all accept the primitive oblation of "this

bread and this cup" as a memorial of our LORD's death and sacrifice, and cease to argue as to its nature and mystical meaning, making these matters of personal opinion but not magnifying them into articles of faith?

If those who call themselves "Evangelicals" can rise to this ideal, and if those who claim to be Catholics will emphasise the truth that the HOLY SPIRIT is the Consecrator—a truth taught by both East and West—by their loyal acceptance of the Epiclesis (which we shall consider later) our ranks will be closed up, our disputes silenced, and we shall be made to be once more "of one heart and of one soul," [1] and shall "all speak the same thing." [2]

[1] Acts iv. 32. [2] 1 Cor. i. 10.

CHAPTER XII

UNION WITH THE HEAVENLY OFFERING

THE DEPRECATION AND THE PLEA

THESE, we notice, are absent from *Ap. Trad.*, undeveloped in other early rites, and altogether absent from many later ones.

In the two earliest forms [1] the third main verb follows hard upon the second. "This bread and this cup" having been offered as a memorial of the Passion, the HOLY SPIRIT is at once invoked upon the Offering, and then upon those who offer it, as they wait to feast upon the sacrifice, to receive the Bread of heaven unto eternal life.

In the Church's earliest days the sense of CHRIST's perpetual presence in His members, as they continued to receive Him daily,[2] was as vivid as it was real, and so the realisation of unbroken union with Him was never lost. The thought of separation from Him never occurred to them. But as the flood of sin and worldliness, like the returning rushing tide, overspread the Church, when she had lost her first love, there came to her the knowledge of her unworthiness to make the offering, and of her greater need for the merciful mediation of the Great High Priest. This sense of unworthiness and need found expression in the Deprecation and the Plea, which are but Heb. iv. 12, 13 and 14–16 rendered liturgically.

The germ of a Deprecation is to be seen in *A. and M.*[3] It was expanded at a later date to the very beautiful form in which it appears in S. Theodore as given by Linton.[4] As we shall see later, the Deprecation reached a high stage of development in some of the Syrian liturgies.

Before considering these and other forms, it is well to bear in mind that this neutral ground between the Oblation and the Epiclesis is the border land between the material offering and the spiritual gift, between "the outward visible sign and the inward and (wholly) spiritual grace." It is the stage in the progress of

[1] See p. 20. [2] Acts ii. 42.
[3] See p. 20. "We also . . . delivered unto us."
[4] Linton, p. 75.

our worship at which the imagination needs to be awakened and allowed to play its full part.

The imagination of a little child is a very holy and marvellous thing. It is his spiritual eye, by which he sees in the material object something which it represents or symbolises. His mind lives in the mystical because his spiritual faculties are alive. He becomes another being. He can impersonate it and enter into its character, and he loves to copy its natural habits. It may be another person, or an animal, or an inanimate object. Or he may be able to visualise the presence of some absent playmate or relative quite vividly. This faculty is retained by some persons and races much longer than by others. But with most of us—especially in those of Anglo-Saxon descent—it dies when "we put away childish things." This work-a-day world with its material interests, its cares and its pleasures, entirely absorbs us, and the spiritual faculties with which we were endowed are drowned in the flood of material objects. The struggle for life, and more often success in the contest, "knocks all that sort of nonsense out of us," and we become speedily quite respectable, "matter-of-fact" citizens. Yet we retain in social life, and in corporate ceremonial, vestiges of that "make-believe" existence of lovely, spiritual childhood, and such social amenities tend to make our matter-of-fact life tolerable. But some vocations demand for their fulfilment a greater retention of these spiritual faculties. The actor, the artist, the musician, the poet, the architect, and the author must of necessity preserve and cultivate their spiritual insight in order to practise their art. Without exercise the law of atrophy must supervene. So even in mundane affairs vision is needed. Even "the visionary," whom the world scoffs at and calls unpractical, inspires the inventor, to the great gain of the next generation, who, in turn, laud him as a genius and a prophet.

And this is so because all work is at its base spiritual, or has, at least, a spiritual side. And as this spiritual quality increases in any class of work, there is the greater need for the workman to cultivate his spiritual faculties, if his work is to be worthy, and to fulfil its end.

Of all arts worship is the highest. Therefore to worship well man's spirit must be attuned to the highest pitch, to God Who is Spirit [1]—the Father of spirits [2]—for "they who worship Him" can only do so "in spirit and in truth." Of the spiritual world we can as yet scarcely conceive. Yet even the most gross of us have spiritual faculties in embryo. They may be immature, but they exist, and they may be developed by use. By exercise

[1] S. John iv. 24. [2] Heb. xii. 9.

they will grow. Worship has been given to us for this very purpose. We may worship with the angels—they as full-grown beings perfectly, we as babes crudely. But as our LORD told us, "Whosoever shall not receive the Kingdom of GOD as a little child he shall in no wise enter therein." [1]

This spiritual insight and this heavenly worship are our own precious privileges, to which the Old Testament saints were strangers.[2] And now we are about to enter the innermost court of the KING Eternal. We are to gaze upon marvels of which these earlier saints could but dream. We shall worship at the very shrine of CHRIST'S religion, the realm of the wholly spiritual. We are to receive the food of angels, "the Bread of GOD," even Him "Which cometh down out of heaven, and giveth life unto the world." [3] So our hearts and minds, leaving earth behind and lifted up to heaven, must needs be attuned to the celestial music and themselves become wholly spiritual.

When viewed from such a height how trivial our former mundane conceptions of heavenly truth now appear! In such a realm with its clear sweet atmosphere, from such an elevation with its all-embracing view, we look down upon the heated valley below in which we dwelt (but scarcely lived), with its thick air of misapprehension and doubt and strife because of its narrow outlook, and we marvel how that we could ever have been perplexed and hindered in our upward struggle by questions such as:

(1) How can our unworthy worship be accepted by the all-holy GOD?

(2) Of what possible value can a material offering be in the celestial courts; how can it be offered upon the golden altar?

(3) How can it avail for sin or obtain grace; how can it be one with the supreme sacrifice of the Cross, or even represent it?

For now we can see clearly what was then obscured by fog. We realise that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the SPIRIT of GOD: for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged." [4] We know now how futile was the attempt to measure the infinite, to weigh the vast, to plumb the unfathomable, to grasp the incomprehensible with human faculties, and we cease to ask (as Nicodemus did) "how can these things be?" [5] If the FATHER has "hid these things from the wise and prudent," He has "revealed them unto babes" [6]—even the "little children" of

[1] S. Mark x. 15. [2] S. Luke x. 23, 24. [3] S. John vi. 33.
[4] 1 Cor. ii. 14. [5] S. John iii. 9. [6] S. Matt. xi. 25.

Christ's kingdom. He has "revealed them unto us through the Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God" [1]—the Spirit who was given to the Church to "guide it into all the truth." [2] And the Church, taught by the Holy Spirit, has always held that—

(1) Our worship is acceptable to God only in so far as our Great High Priest makes it so. The Eucharist is His own appointed memorial of His unique sacrifice, and He Himself receives it and makes it worthy and acceptable by His perfect merits.

(2) As we are partly spiritual and partly material, so a sacrifice which is both spiritual and material is our bounden duty and service. And it is an act of obedience and therefore a pledge and proof of love. That imperfect obedience and love of ours Christ, our Head, can receive in heaven, and offer to His Father and ours by His all sufficient merits.

(3) Nothing that sinful man can offer can of itself atone for sin or obtain grace. But the One Sinless Man has offered a perfect obedience "unto death, yea, the death of the Cross." [3] That unique sacrifice is our only plea, and He Himself has provided the means by which we may plead it, and has commanded us to do so. Our sacrifice is not only material, but spiritual also; it is not that of an individual, but of the whole Church, which is His mystical body; and not even that of the Church *apart* from Him, her Head; and it is offered by Him, and with Him, and in Him. He takes the worthless gift, and blending it with, immersing it in, His own perfect sacrifice, He makes it one with the sacrifice of the Cross, and He applies all the benefits obtained by the Cross to the sinful offerer in Holy Communion.

What has just been written must not be taken as a doctrinal statement, but rather as an example of the mental attitude we must adopt if we are to understand Eastern liturgies, and to join in Eastern worship. This is so especially as regards the part of the Anaphora which we have yet to consider. Spiritual vision is essential if we are to grasp spiritual truths, for these cannot be reduced to the exactitude of algebraical formulae.

If, as we study these ancient rites, we will but remember that the Eastern imagination is much more highly developed than the Western and the Northern, that the Eastern faith is much more childlike, that the Eastern view is obtained from an eminence which is entirely spiritual, we shall know that the language of

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 10. [2] S. John xiv. 17 and xvi. 13. [3] Phil. ii. 8.

these rites is mystical, incapable of a material interpretation, and cannot be rendered into ordinary expressions. We shall then cease to argue about points which these peoples would consider trivial. We shall be able to comprehend and to admire their faith, to join in their worship and to share in their adoration.

"If any man willeth to do His will,
He shall know of the teaching." [1]

[1] S. John vii. 17.

CHAPTER XIII

UNION WITH THE HEAVENLY OFFERING

THE DEPRECATION AND THE PLEA

We noticed in the last chapter that these parts are absent from *Ap. Trad.* but that they appear in embryo in *A. and M.* In *A.C.* we may see them undeveloped in the phrases: "And we beseech Thee that Thou wilt look graciously upon these gifts now lying before Thee, O God Who art in need of nought, and accept them to the honour of Thy Christ" [1]—phrases adopted by the Non-Jurors.[2] They are not to be found in the two other derivatives of *Ap. Trad.*, nor in *Serapion*, nor in any Egyptian rite but Coptic *S. Mark* [3] (which shows Antiochene influence and is ascribed to S. Cyril, though it is probably the original of the Greek version); nor are they in the *Gallican* and *Mozarabic* Masses given by Linton, though the preliminary epiclesis in the Egyptian rites [4] and that in *De Sacramentis* [5] are deprecatory in tone. But *Supra quae propitio* in the Roman Canon [6] is surely a deprecation. The absence of these parts in the earlier Anaphoras may be explained as in the last chapter and by our Lord's declaration in S. John xv. 14–16.

1. *The Deprecation* in the Liturgy of *S. James* is: [7] "Beseeching Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities, but according to Thy gentleness and unspeakable love towards man, passing by and blotting out the handwriting that is against us Thy supplicants (*Syr.* blot out the sins of Thy servants who intreat Thee)."

That in *S. Basil* is: [8]

"Therefore, Master, All-Holy, we also, Thy sinful and unworthy servants who have been accounted worthy [9] to minister at Thy Holy altar, not because of our righteousness, for we have done nothing good on earth."

[1] Linton, p. 38. [2] *ib.*, p. 133. [3] p. 105.
[4] p. 85. [5] p. 127. [6] p. 126.
[7] p. 42. [8] p. 62. [9] Cf. *Ap. Trad. ib.*, p. 31.

The Armenian is: [1]

> "We justly praise Thee, O LORD our God, and render Thee incessant thanks, Who without regard to our unworthiness hast made us ministers of a Sacrament so awful and unspeakable; not because of any merit of our own, of which we are altogether bereft."

The deprecations in the Syrian liturgies are expanded very greatly. They are too long to be quoted here. Linton gives two representative samples [2] which should be studied. They are mostly addressed to our LORD.

2. *The Justification or Plea* in *S. James* is: [3]

> "For Thy people and Thy church entreat Thee (*Syr. adds*, and through Thee and with Thee the FATHER saying), have mercy upon us, O GOD."

S. Basil has: [4]

> "But because of Thy mercies and compassions, which Thou hast richly poured out upon us, (we) have boldness to draw near to Thy holy altar."

The *Armenian* takes this remarkably definite shape: [5]

> "But trusting solely in Thy boundless mercy, we dare approach the ministry of the BODY and BLOOD of Thine Only Begotten, our Lord and Redeemer, JESUS CHRIST, to whom belongs glory, power and honour, now and for ever. Amen.—In Thy presence, O LORD, O SON of GOD, Who hast offered Thyself to the FATHER as a Sacrifice for our reconciliation, and hast given Thyself for us as the BREAD of Life, we implore Thee, by the shedding of Thy Divine BLOOD, to have pity on the flock ransomed by Thee at so high a price."

Severus of Antioch has: [6]

> "Receive upon Thy spiritual and supercelestial altar this Sacrifice for a sweet savour."

And *Syrian S. Chrysostom*: [7]

> "And as we are made worthy, by Thy favour, of the gift of Thy propitiatory BODY and BLOOD, vouchsafe that we may be one with Thee in holiness, as Thou art One in essence with the FATHER and Thy HOLY SPIRIT. And, therefore, Thy Holy Church and Thy Heritage in penitence beseeches Thee, and through Thee and with

[1] Linton, pp. 66, 67. [2] *ib.*, pp. 48, 53. [3] p. 43.
[4] p. 63. [5] p. 67. [6] p. 53. [7] p. 48.

Thee, Thy FATHER, saying: (*People :* Have mercy upon us, O GOD, FATHER Almighty, have mercy upon us").

But *in the Oblation* which precedes the Deprecation and this Plea is incorporated the idea of *Severus :* [1]

"We, therefore, beseech Thee, O LORD, Most Good, Thou Lover of men, that this oblation which we offer may be received in the presence of Thy Majesty, upon Thy spiritual altar, which is higher than the heavens, in the dwelling place of Angels amongst the congregation of Saints, in the place of Thy divine presence, in the transcendent dwelling of Thy secret place; that by it we may be made worthy of the propitiation of our faults and the remission of our sins."

It will be interesting to ascertain the date of this Anaphora and of that of *Severus of Antioch* just quoted. Linton thinks [2] that this "is perhaps one of the more ancient" of the Syrian Anaphoras. We shall see later, when we consider the Epiclesis, that there are reasons for thinking that it is akin to the most ancient Anaphora of *A. and M.*

In the West there is added to this idea that of the intervention of angels, or rather the transmission through them of our offering.

In *De Sacramentis* (*c.* 400) we find (and this petition is addressed —unlike the Syrian ones—to the FATHER) the following: [3]

"We ask and pray that Thou wouldest receive this Oblation on Thy altar on high by the hands of Thine Angels, as Thou wast pleased to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high priest Melchisedek offered unto Thee."

Rome expands the idea still more, in *Supplices Te rogamus,*[4] to:

"We most humbly beseech Thee, Almighty GOD, command these things to be carried by the hand of Thy Holy Angel to Thine Altar on high, in the sight of Thy divine Majesty, that as many of us who by participation at this altar shall receive the Most Sacred BODY and BLOOD of Thy SON, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace."

To this the simplest and the scriptural Plea is added:

"Through the same CHRIST our LORD."

[1] Linton, p. 47.
[2] p. 44.
[3] p. 127.
[4] p. 126.

In the 1549 Rite the Plea is: [1]

> "Yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of Thy holy angels, to be brought up into Thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through CHRIST our LORD."

It is very interesting to note that in all these Pleas but that of *Rome* the word "angels" is used. She uses the singular "Angel"—the title which *Ap. Trad.* gives to our blessed LORD, "a SAVIOUR and REDEEMER, and ANGEL of Thy Counsel." [2]

It may also be noted that both Deprecation and Plea are, in the 1549 Book, removed from their natural and original place after the Oblation (to which they should refer) and postponed to the end of the Anaphora. In this Book the very beautiful and terse form which we still use is linked with the presentation of "our prayers and supplications" before God in His "holy tabernacle," and these are inferred to be a "sacrifice."

But in all subsequent revisions, as the Oblation has been obscured, so has its connection with, and absorption in, the one and only effective sacrifice been lost sight of altogether, though it may be discovered at the end of the mutilated and displaced "Prayer of Oblation."

In the Old Testament the angels were more than mere messengers from GOD to man. But there is no instance of one carrying an offering from man to GOD. And the only intercession was by a human, but Divinely appointed, priesthood at an earthly altar. But in the New Testament there is given to us a Divine Paraclete, ever with CHRIST's members of His Holy Body on earth, and a Priest, both human and Divine, who is ever interceding for us, ever presenting our sacrifices to His FATHER, and ours, in heaven, blending them with His own all sufficient sacrifice, in which He is both the Victim and the Priest.

In this respect at least, that of presenting our imperfect and sin-laden sacrifices—even this one made by obedience to His own command—before the All-holy GOD, His heavenly and eternal Priesthood is inviolable, "which doth not pass to another," [3] ever abiding higher than the heavens; [4] because He, the "one Mediator between GOD and man," [5] "ever liveth to make intercession for us," [6] having offered on the Cross "one continual sacrifice for sins." [7]

[1] Linton, p. 130.
[2] *ib.*, p. 30; see also Frere, pp. 6, 7.
[3] ἀπαράβατον, Heb. vii. 24.
[4] vii. 25, 26.
[5] 1 Tim. ii. 5.
[6] Heb. vii. 25.
[7] x. 12.

And He is also the "LAMB as though it had been slain, standing in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders,"[1] the unique, perfect sacrifice in GOD's sight, all prevailing with GOD, all availing and ever available for man, Himself Man.[2] He it is that transmutes our unworthiness into His perfect merit, and presents our sacrifice, in His own, faultless before the Throne of GOD.

[1] Rev. v. 6. [2] 1 Tim. ii. 5.

PART III

CHAPTER XIV

THE EPICLESIS AND WORTHY PARTICIPATION

We now reach the third main verb. in *Ap. Trad.* and the similar one in *A. and M.*

The Epiclesis or Invocation is the most difficult and the most debated part of the Anaphora. As we see it in its developed form in the great Eastern liturgies it is their most striking feature. It is to be found also in Western rites, excepting in that of Rome, and some eminent scholars think that it found at one time a place there too. It stands between the Oblation and Communion.[1]

This developed Invocation which meets us in the Great Liturgies is of the Holy Spirit, except in the Prayer Book of Serapion, where it is of the Logos.[2] In all other rites the Father is implored, for the sake of the Son's Sacrifice, of which the Memorial has just been offered to Him, to send the Holy Spirit to bless and hallow the gifts for the purpose of Communion. In some forms we find that the worshippers were included in this prayer. Out of this grew naturally the prayer for Worthy Participation, which was distinct from, and which followed, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. S. James (as we have it now) has: [3] "Send down upon us and upon these gifts," etc. In the Armenian,[4] S. Chrysostom,[5] S. Basil [6] and later liturgies such words as these frequently occur. S. Mark [7] omits them, but has a definite prayer for Worthy Participation which follows the Epiclesis, and is a fair sample of this development. Serapion's unique Invocation of the Word [8] is also mainly concerned with the "sacrifice" and is followed by a similar prayer for the participants.

We must be careful to distinguish between such later developed forms and the earlier examples in *Ap. Trad.* and *A. and M.* These are simple prayers to send the Holy Spirit on the oblation. In neither instance is there any petition that He may "make" (or "show" or "exhibit") the gifts to be the Body and Blood of

[1] p. 20.
[2] Linton, p. 43.
[3] p. 63.
[3] See further on this p. 77.
[4] *ib.*, p. 67.
[5] p. 57.
[6] p. 86.
[7] p. 91.
[8] p. 86.

CHRIST; whereas S. Cyril uses ποιεῖν and *A.C.* ἀποφήνῃ. The prayer simply asks for the Divine blessing of the oblation and for the Divine grace on the communicants. But there can be little doubt that in the mind of the early worshippers this blessing was invoked *so* that he might receive the BODY and BLOOD of the LORD which He Himself had promised to give. The prayer had reference first to the gifts and then to the communicants. As Linton writes:[1] "The earliest form of Invocation was a prayer that that which had been offered might be spiritually efficacious to the worshippers. The Invocation, whether upon the elements or upon the communicants, was with a view to communion. If this be so there is no alternative position." But it was more than a prayer for worthy participation. It was a petition that the HOLY SPIRIT should hallow the gifts so that communion might be made.

But once again caution is necessary. There does not seem to have been the same clearness as regards the particular working of the Third Person of the TRINITY in those early days as there is to-day. There was some confusion of the *functions* (not of the Persons) of the LOGOS and the HOLY SPIRIT. For instance, Justin Martyr speaks of the Incarnation as effected "by the WORD of GOD," where we should say, "by the HOLY GHOST." So, as regards the Invocation, we have *Hippolytus* and *A. and M.* invoking the HOLY SPIRIT, and *Serapion* the LOGOS, while the Roman Canon is content to appeal to GOD generally without thinking of the particular operation of any Person of the TRINITY. This very vagueness is a mark of antiquity, though the earliest Roman *document* is 200 years later than that of Hippolytus. The Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT would therefore seem to be older than any other, so far as our present evidence goes.

But there is no *clear* evidence before *Ap. Trad.* of the use of an Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT. All that we can safely say of the Fathers of the second century is that their testimony on this point is uncertain. Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Clement of Rome have been claimed as witnesses for it, but this can only be done by reading into their writings what they have not said. This method is uncritical, unsound and misleading. Let us see what each of them really says:

> *Justin Martyr.*—"But as by word of GOD (or, through the WORD of GOD) JESUS CHRIST became incarnate and took both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food made Eucharist (or, over which thanks have been given) through the word of prayer (or,

[1] p. 27.

the prayer of the WORD) which is from Him (δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ) is the flesh and blood of that JESUS who became incarnate." [1]

Irenaeus.—" Bread derived from the earth, receiving the Invocation of GOD, is no longer common bread, but Eucharist." [2] He also speaks of the cup of wine and the bread, " receiving the word (or WORD) of GOD." [3]

From Clement we can glean no details of the rite. He merely says [4] that our LORD " Himself fixed by His supreme will " " the offerings and ministrations," that these " He commanded to be performed not thoughtlessly or disorderly " " at their appointed seasons," " where and by whom He would have them performed."

Justin's repeated reference to the Incarnation has suggested to some writers the idea that he was thinking of its Author, GOD the HOLY GHOST, when he wrote " the word of prayer which is from *Him*," and that the expression implies an Invocation of the HOLY SPIRIT. But this is a mere deduction with no vestige of evidence to support it. The parallel with the preceding clause shows that " JESUS CHRIST " is the main subject and that " the word of prayer from Him," or " the prayer of the WORD " refers to our LORD. Scholars are very much divided as to the true interpretation of this celebrated passage. We can, however, be sure that Justin thought that a prayer of a certain kind and origin was the means by which " the food made Eucharist " " is the flesh and blood of that JESUS who became incarnate." What that prayer was we cannot tell. Justin may mean the " long thanksgiving " of which he had previously spoken, *i.e.*, the whole prayer or anaphora. Dr. Brightman thinks that he had in mind the " thanksgiving " or " blessing " of CHRIST at the Last Supper.

Again what was Irenaeus thinking of when he wrote: " The bread over which thanks have been given," or " receiving the Invocation of GOD "? Did he mean an anaphora which was already taking shape? And what was the " Invocation " of which he speaks? It could scarcely have been of the LOGOS, though Dr. Fortescue thinks it was,[5] for that form seems to have been peculiar to Egypt and even there but transitory. It certainly was a prayer of some sort—apparently for GOD's blessing upon the bread.

On this we may quote Dr. Srawley [6]: " Whether this ' Invocation ' (ἐπίκλησις) is a distinct part of the prayer of thanksgiving or is identical with it, the language of Irenaeus does not enable

[1] *Apol.* i. 66. [2] IV. xviii. 5. [3] V. 2, 3.
[4] C. 40. [5] p. 405. [6] pp. 40, 41.

us to decide conclusively. In favour of the latter view it might be urged that in speaking of the prayer in virtue of which the bread is constituted the body of CHRIST, he uses the words 'bread over which thanks have been given' as synonymous with the words 'bread receiving the invocation of GOD.' On the other hand it is possible that a *formal* invocation of the divine power upon the elements was already making its way into the churches in the time of Irenaeus, and, as we shall see,[1] the evidence of Gnostic practices points to its existence in heretical circles. In the other passage referred to, in which Irenaeus speaks of the elements as 'receiving the word of GOD,' it is possible that, as in Justin, there is a reference to the personal 'WORD' or LOGOS, and that this language may be explained by the previous statement that on receiving the Invocation 'the bread is no longer common bread but Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly element and a heavenly[2] . . .' Irenaeus is the first writer who appears to attest the existence of an Invocation in the Eucharist."[3]

Such a prayer as this would be in keeping with the *spirit* of the New Testament where the HOLY SPIRIT is the only source of spiritual life, and prayer in CHRIST'S Name the assured access to the FATHER. But we have here to deal with facts, not with probabilities. Neither of these early Fathers nor Holy Scripture can be adduced as *evidence* for the use in the Apostolic or the sub-apostolic age of an Epiclesis such as we find in the Great Liturgies, or like those in *Ap. Trad.* and *A. and M.* We have as yet no clear evidence earlier than Hippolytus to guide us.

Another development which we must note at the outset of our inquiry is that the HOLY SPIRIT works in the sacraments on *things* as well as on *persons*. There is no trace of this in the New Testament. Water and the HOLY SPIRIT are by our LORD set side by side as the outward and inward parts of the sacrament of regeneration,[4] and carnal ideas of the Eucharist are guarded against by His statement[5] that "it is the SPIRIT which quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." Nowhere do we find any reference to an operation of the HOLY SPIRIT *on* the waters of baptism (as in later baptismal rites), or on the bread and the cup of the Eucharist (as in the later forms of Invocation in the Liturgy). Later theology, both Eastern and Western, recognised the HOLY SPIRIT as the immediate Agent in all spiritual acts of communion between GOD and man, but this more explicit definition of an operation on the material of the sacraments can claim no express sanction from Holy Scripture. What we want to know is: When

[1] Srawley, pp. 43 f. [2] See Srawley, pp. 50, 120.
[3] *ib.*, p. 42. [4] S. John iii. 5, 6. [5] *ib.*, vi. 63.

did the Christians of the first three centuries begin to disentangle their conceptions of the work of the HOLY SPIRIT in the sacraments from their idea of GOD's operations, either directly or through the LOGOS, and when did they begin to think of the HOLY SPIRIT as operating on *things* as distinct from persons?

It is interesting to note that the Latin form of *Ap. Trad.* is: "petimus ut mittas Spiritum Tuum Sanctum *in* oblationem sanctae ecclesiae" where "in" is the equivalent of "into." But we do not know what the original Greek was, and there is nothing to tell us how Hippolytus conceived the "res sacramenti."

But we must allow some scope for the HOLY SPIRIT's guidance of the Church into all truth, some development of fundamental doctrine, expecting that He will "take of the things of CHRIST and show them unto" His Church.[1] He who brooded upon chaos and brought life into the material creation at the beginning is certainly able to use material things as channels for spiritual blessings, if by so doing the members of CHRIST may have His life "more abundantly."[2]

But we must remember that this is pure hypothesis. Before 200 we have no *evidence* whatever. All we can say is that an Epiclesis is not inconsistent with Holy Scripture, with the earliest Fathers, or with the known practice of the Church about 200. For the next 150 years there is no evidence. Then we find S. Cyril of Jerusalem taking an Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT as a well-established practice and explaining it, and Serapion of Thmuis using one of the LOGOS.

[1] S. John xvi. 14, 15. [2] *ib.* x. 10.

CHAPTER XV

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

THE EVIDENCE BETWEEN 225 AND 375

THAT an Epiclesis of some sort existed long before S. Basil's day (d. 379) is clear from his words:

> "Which of the saints has left us in writing the words of the Invocation at the consecration (ἀναδείξει) of the bread of the Eucharist and of the cup of blessing? For we are not satisfied with those words of which the Apostle or the Gospel make mention, but we utter both before and after them other words as having great importance for the mystery, receiving them from unwritten tradition." [1]

Though he does not actually say so, it would seem that S. Basil regarded the Invocation—the form of which he does not give—as essential to the consecration, and of an importance equal, at least, to the recitation of our LORD's words of administration, which are recorded by S. Paul and the Synoptists. This is, at least, the view taken by the whole of Eastern Christendom. He is most probably referring here to the Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT, but his words would apply with equal force to an Epiclesis of the LOGOS as then used in Egypt. Let us see what the liturgies and the Fathers have to tell us about it.

Liturgies.—We have seen [2] that both *Ap. Trad.* and *A. and M.* ask for the descent of "the HOLY SPIRIT upon this oblation of Thy {Holy Church / Servants} in order that the communicants may be {united, sanctified, enlightened, confirmed in faith and truth." / pardoned, filled with hope, their life renewed, united with the saints"}.

Why upon the oblation? Surely to comply with our LORD's intention and to receive His promise. His intention He expressed quite clearly at Capernaum; His promise He fulfilled when He blessed the bread and the cup in the Upper Room, and com-

[1] *De Spiritu Sancto*, xxvii. (66). [2] See p. 20.

manded His disciples to " Do this " until His return; and gave them the consecrated bread and cup, saying " This is My BODY. This is My BLOOD."

In the two earliest liturgies this Gift is implied in the Anaphora and understood by the worshipper. For *that* heavenly Food, these early Christians undoubtedly prayed. *That* was what they clearly expected the HOLY GHOST to give them. No other meaning can be read into their prayer, for nothing less than " the Living BREAD which cometh down from heaven " [1] could unite, sanctify, enlighten them, or be the pledge of sin forgiven, of hope and life renewed. They desired the HOLY SPIRIT to take of all the fulness of CHRIST and to communicate it to them, to give them, as our LORD said, His BODY, His BLOOD. Though they are not actually expressed here, the wish and the intention are so clear that the prayer can be understood in no other sense.

So we are not surprised to find S. Cyril of Jerusalem (348) writing:

> " We entreat GOD, the lover of mankind, to send forth the HOLY GHOST upon the gifts set forth, that He may make the bread the BODY of CHRIST, and the wine the BLOOD of CHRIST, for assuredly that which the HOLY GHOST has touched is sanctified and changed." [2]

Nor do we wonder that when *Ap. Trad.* is expanded by the unknown writer at Antioch into *A.C.* (*c.* 375) he should express the Epiclesis as follows:

> " And we beseech Thee that Thou wilt look graciously upon these gifts now lying before Thee, O GOD Who art in need of nought, and accept them to the honour of Thy CHRIST, and that Thou wilt send down Thy HOLY SPIRIT, the witness of the sufferings of the LORD JESUS, upon this sacrifice, that He may make this bread the BODY of Thy CHRIST, and this cup the BLOOD of Thy CHRIST; that all who shall partake thereof may be confirmed in piety, may receive remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his wiles, may be filled with the HOLY GHOST, may become worthy of Thy CHRIST, and may obtain eternal life, Thou, O Almighty GOD, being reconciled to them." [3]

Before we trace the connection of this Epiclesis with those in the Great Liturgies, it will repay us to examine *Test. Dom.* with *Ap. Trad.* and the Abyssinian rite *All. Ap.*, which is based on *Ap. Trad.*, and to ask why *Test.* contains no Epiclesis. To this

[1] S. John vi. 50, 51. [2] *Catech. Myst.* xxiii. 7; see Srawley, p. 85.
[3] Linton, p. 38.

question we may reply with another: How is it that it neither contains the words of Institution regarding the cup?

It is obvious to anyone who will compare the three documents,[1] *Ap. Trad.*, *Ethiopian—The Apostles*, and *Test. Dom.*, that the scribe who copied *Test.* inserted between the words " broken for you," and " Mindful, therefore, of His death," etc., the following words, which are clearly an explanatory gloss: " for the forgiveness of sins. When ye do this, ye make My resurrection." And similarly after " the cup," he adds: " of wine which He mixed He gave for a type of the BLOOD, which was shed for us." And then he forgot to copy the words of " Institution " of the cup. When he comes to the Anamnesis and Oblation he changes the pronoun in the former, and addresses both to our LORD after the manner of Syrian anaphoras of a period later than 400. This alone shows the late date of his revision. When he reaches the Epiclesis he makes the same kind of alteration as he had before made in the Commemoration. He adds an amazingly long and imaginative paragraph to the Anamnesis beginning: " We offer to Thee this thanksgiving " and ending: " every root of bitterness destroyed." It is addressed to the HOLY TRINITY and to each Divine Person by Name—most unlikely at an early period. Then, forgetting all about the Epiclesis, he hurries on to the Doxology. It would not be wise to place much reliance on work so carelessly done, and apparently done so long after the original *Ap. Trad.* was used. It is only safe to take those parts of *Test. Dom.* which agree with *Ap. Trad.* and *Eth. Ap.* *Test. Dom.* does not appear to have been used anywhere. Evidently its redactor used and modified *Ap. Trad.* as he pleased, and so he alone is responsible for it. *A.C.* is undoubtedly based on *Ap. Trad.*[2]

Now let us turn to Egypt, where we find in Serapion's Epiclesis of the LOGOS the development of the second theory of consecration.

Serapion was Bishop of Thmuis in the Delta of the Nile in Egypt when Cyril was Presbyter (*c.* 350), and afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem. He was the friend of Athanasius.[3] His Epiclesis is:[4]

> " O GOD of Truth, let Thy holy WORD come upon this bread, that the bread may become the BODY of the WORD, and upon the cup, that the cup may become BLOOD of the Truth; and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness, and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O GOD of Truth, and not for censure and reproach. For we have invoked Thee, the Uncreated, through the Only-Begotten in HOLY SPIRIT."

[1] Linton, pp. 31, 109 and 144.
[2] See p. 17.
[3] See further on this pp. 79, 85.
[4] Linton, p. 86.

He has also a preliminary Epiclesis, as have other Egyptian rites: [1]

> "Fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and Thy participation." [1]

This Invocation of the WORD is unique. It is most remarkable that such an Epiclesis as this finds no foothold in any other Egyptian liturgy, notwithstanding the fact that the Alexandrian Fathers spoke of the work of the LOGOS in the same way as the Eastern Fathers spoke of that of the HOLY SPIRIT. Dr. Srawley writes: [2]

> "In Justin and Irenaeus we have noticed a tendency to attribute to the LOGOS the operative power by which the elements become the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST. In the Alexandrine writers, Clement, Origen, and Athanasius, the spiritual content of the Eucharist is identified with the LOGOS, and this idea finds expression in the Liturgy of Serapion, where the LOGOS is invoked to come upon the bread that it may become the BODY of the LOGOS."

But in spite of this influence such a form of Invocation makes no headway even in Egypt, while that of the HOLY SPIRIT, found in *Eth. Ap.* and derived from *Ap. Trad.*, survives and is developed in all subsequent Egyptian rites.

Of the North African rite no sample remains. It has been entirely lost. But there remain copious references to it in the Fathers, from whose writings Dr. Srawley has given us a reconstruction.[3] Unfortunately these Fathers do not quote the *words* of the Epiclesis which seems to have been used there in the days of Optatus and Fulgentius.

A new chapter must be devoted to the Patristic references to the Epiclesis.

[1] Linton, p. 85. [2] pp. 227, 228. [3] Srawley, Chap. VI.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

PATRISTIC REFERENCES

In this chapter will be given a collection of quotations from the Fathers which refer to an Epiclesis of some sort in the liturgy, or which have been supposed to do so. They are grouped according to the country and age in which each of the Fathers lived, so that the student may trace the development of ideas as they grew. To this end the quotations have been divided further into two periods—before and after the year 375, the supposed date of *A.C.* Comments on them will be made in the next chapter.

I. *Between* 225 *and* 375:

Syria, c. 250, *Didascalia.* The writer says:

> "Prayer is accepted through the Holy Spirit and the Eucharist is received and sanctified through the Holy Spirit, and the Scriptures are the words of the Holy Spirit and are holy" [1]
>
> and
>
> "Which is greater, the bread or the Holy Spirit who sanctifies the bread"
>
> and
>
> "The pure bread which is sanctified by the Invocation."

For the Syriac version see next chapter.

258, *S. Cyril* of Jerusalem has already been quoted on p. 75.

370–398, *S. Chrysostom* writes:

> "This is My body, He says. This word re-orders the gifts that are set forth." [2]

[1] vi. 22. See Srawley, p. 89 and Tyrer, p. 47 on these passages, and as regards the variation of the Syriac version. The quotations in this chapter are in the main derived from these two writers.

[2] *De Prod. Jud.* i. 6. See Srawley, p. 231.

But he also writes:

"When the priest stands before the table, stretching forth his hands to heaven, calling on the HOLY GHOST to come and touch the elements" [1]

and

"When he calls on the HOLY SPIRIT and completes the most dread sacrifice" [2]

and

"The grace of the SPIRIT being present and hovering over all prepares that mystic sacrifice" [3]

and

"This bread through the visitation of the SPIRIT becomes heavenly Bread." [4]

Egypt, 230, *Origen* in his homily on 1 Cor. vii. 5 says:

"The bread which is greater than the shew-bread, on which has been invoked the Name of GOD, and of CHRIST, and of the HOLY GHOST."

And he speaks of the

"Bread sanctified by the WORD of GOD and prayer." [5] He is referring to S. Paul's words in 1 Tim. iv. 5. In the same passage the holy food is said to become

"profitable in virtue of the prayer pronounced over it."

Again, the loaves which are offered with thanksgiving and prayer become

"on account of the prayer a certain holy body, which sanctifies those who use it with right purpose." [6]

362, *Athanasius* is quoted by Eutychius [7] as writing:

"When the great prayers and holy supplications have been sent up, the WORD comes down into the bread and cup, and they become His BODY." [8]

373, *Peter*, his successor, speaks of "the very altar where we invoke the descent of the HOLY SPIRIT." [9]

[1] In *coemet. appel.* 3. [2] *De Sacerd.* vi. 4. [3] *De S. Pentecoste* i. 4.
[4] Hom. xlv. 2 in *Joan.* [5] *in Matt.* Vol. XI. c. 14. [6] *c. Cels.* viii. 33.
[7] Patriarch of Constantinople 552 to 582. The genuineness of his quotation has been questioned.
[8] *P.G.* xxvi. 1325. [9] Theodoret, *H.E.* iv. 19.

Cappadocia, 256, *Firmilian*, bishop of Caesarea, writing to Cyprian, reported that a certain female heretic had deceived many Christians twenty-two years previously and had even dared

> "to pretend to hallow bread and make (*i.e.*, consecrate) the Eucharist with an invocation not to be despised." [1]

370, *S. Basil*, bishop of Caesarea, has been quoted on p. 74.

North Africa, 258, *S. Cyprian* says that:

> "The offering cannot be sanctified where the Holy Spirit is not" [2] (see note on p. 86).

363, *Optatus*, writing against the Donatists, said:

> "The altars of God, . . . where God Almighty was invoked, where the Holy Ghost descended in answer to prayers," etc.[3]

Spain } produce no evidence until after A.D. 375.
Italy }

II. *Later than* 375.

Though we are now dealing with the period between 225 and 375, it will be more convenient to place patristic references to consecration of a later date in this chapter. They will then be all together, and we shall be able to consult them the more readily as we are considering each liturgy separately.

Syria, 370–398, *S. Chrysostom*, who belongs to both periods, has been quoted on pp. 78 and 79. It would be interesting to ascertain into which of these periods each one of his statements falls.

Egypt, 401, *Theophilus*, who succeeded Peter in the Patriarchal throne of Alexandria, accuses Origen that

> "he does not recognise that . . . the Lord's bread . . . and the sacred chalice which are placed upon the table of the church . . . are sanctified by the Invocation and advent of the Holy Spirit." [4]

[1] See Cypr., *Ep.* lxxv. 10.
[2] *Ep.* lxiv. 4.
[3] *De Schism. Donat.* vi. 1.
[4] See Jerome, *Ep.* xcviii.

449, Isidore of Pelusium (quoted by Dr. Brightman): [1]

> "But remembering how the Divine SPIRIT makes the first fruits of this the BLOOD of CHRIST, use it because of thy weakness (lit. as being weak)."

He is thinking of the consecration of the wine in the chalice.

Cappadocia, 379, *S. Gregory* of Nyssa, brother of S. Basil, writes:

> "The bread is up to this time ordinary bread, but, when the sacramental act (μυστήριον) consecrates it, it is said to be, and becomes, the BODY of CHRIST; so the sacramental oil, so the wine, are worth very little before the blessing, but each of them after the sanctification bestowed on it by the SPIRIT has its distinct efficacy." [2]

But he also writes:

> "We rightly believe that the bread which is hallowed through the word of GOD is changed into the BODY of GOD the WORD." [3]

And, perhaps referring to 1 Tim. iv. 5:

> "In like manner, as the Apostle says, the bread is hallowed, through the word of GOD and prayer, not advancing to become the BODY of the WORD through the act of eating, but changed immediately into the BODY through the word, as it has been said by the WORD, This is My BODY." [4]

390, *S. Gregory of Nazianzus* says:

> "Do not neglect to pray and intercede for us when by word thou drawest down the WORD, when with bloodless cutting you divide the LORD'S BODY and BLOOD, using your voice as a sword." [5]

423, *Theodoret* writes:

> "The symbols of the LORD'S BODY and BLOOD are one thing before the sacerdotal Invocation, but after the Invocation are changed and become another thing." [6]

[1] *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 508, n. 20.
[2] *De Bapt. Christi* (*P.G.* xlvi. 58).
[3] *Catech. Or.* 37.
[4] *ib.* See Srawley, p. 120.
[5] *Ep.* clxxi.
[6] *Dial.* ii., see D. Stone, *Doctrine of the Eucharist*, i. 100.

North Africa, 395–430, *S. Augustine of Hippo* speaks of the bread and wine as consecrated:

"by the mystic prayer," [1] "by the word of GOD" [2] and "receiving the benediction of CHRIST." [3]

Besides these three statements there are the two famous passages which are discussed in the next chapter. In the first he says that the elements taken from the fruits of the earth are

"sanctified to become so great a sacrament only by the invisible operation of the SPIRIT of GOD." [4]

597, *Fulgentius* "discusses the *rationale*" of the Invocation, "and deals with the question why the sending of the HOLY SPIRIT was invoked." [5] He writes:

"The HOLY GHOST is asked of the FATHER for the consecration of the sacrifice." He speaks also of the Church as "invoking the coming of the HOLY SPIRIT in the prayer of the sacrifice," and of "the coming of the HOLY SPIRIT to consecrate the sacrifice of the BODY of CHRIST."

Italy, 378, *S. Jerome* refers to the

"Prayers of the priests" at which "the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST is consecrated"; [6] and also writes:

"Priests also who give baptism and at the Eucharist pray for (*imprecantur*) the coming of the LORD." [7]

381, *S. Ambrose*, bishop of Milan, says:

"As often as we receive the sacraments which by the mystery of the sacred prayer are transfigured into the FLESH and BLOOD, we do show the LORD's death" [8]

and

"He who with the FATHER and the SON is by the priests named in baptism and invoked in the offerings (*in oblationibus*)" [9]

He elsewhere writes:

"If the blessing of a man had so great power that it could change nature, what are we to say of the consecration of GOD, wherein the very words of the LORD and SAVIOUR have their operation? For that sacra-

[1] *De Trin.* iii. 4. [2] *Serm.* 227. [3] *ib.*, 234.
[4] *De Trin.* iii. 4. [5] Srawley, p. 151.
[6] *Ep.* cxlvi. See Srawley, p. 177 on the use of *conficere*.
[7] *Comm. on Zeph.*, iii. 4. [8] *De Fide* iv. 10. [9] *De Spir.* iii. 16.

ment which you receive is consecrated (*conficitur*) by the word of CHRIST . . . The LORD JESUS Himself proclaims 'This is My Body.' Before the blessing of the heavenly words another nature (*species*) is named, after the consecration the BODY is indicated. He Himself speaks of His Blood. Before the consecration it is called something else, after consecration it is named BLOOD." [1]

400, *De Sacramentis*.

" For everything also which is said before is spoken by the priest; . . . when the time comes for consecrating the venerable sacrament, the priest no longer uses his own words, but he uses the words of CHRIST. So then the word of CHRIST consecrates (*conficit*) this sacrament." [2]

492–496, *Pope Gelasius* says that the bread and wine

" change into the Divine substance, the HOLY GHOST working this "

and

" How shall the heavenly SPIRIT, being invoked, come to the consecration of the divine mystery, if the priest who prays Him to be present is condemned as being full of evil deeds." [3]

[1] *De Myst.* 52. [2] *De Sacr.* iv. 14. [3] Fortescue, pp. 405, 406.

CHAPTER XVII

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

PATRISTIC EVIDENCE CONSIDERED

In summing up the evidence afforded us by the different sayings of the Fathers we must be careful to interpret each one of them by its context and try to learn what the writer was thinking of at the time. Some of these sentences may seem to us to refer to an Epiclesis when, as a matter of fact, the Father had in mind something quite different. There is a very real danger of our *reading into* a Patristic utterance what we wish to find there.

Again we must be on our guard against the supposition that all the Fathers have exactly the same conception of the Epiclesis (or even of the Eucharist), or that each observation which is clearly of the Epiclesis was made from the same view-point. Therefore we must not lump together all and every reference to the Holy Spirit which is clearly connected with it, as though they all referred to the same form of it. Let us now consider some of the sayings quoted in the last chapter, bearing in mind the influence upon the minds of the writers of the first two great Œcumenical Councils, Nicaea in 325 and Constantinople in 381.

Didascalia.—There is great doubt about the correct text. The Syriac MS. differs from the Latin translation found in Hauler in both places where there is a reference to the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist.

In the first quotation on page 78 the Syriac reads:

> "Prayer through the Holy Spirit is heard and Eucharistia by the Holy Spirit is received and sanctified, and the books are the words of the Holy Spirit and are holy."

And the second runs:

> "Which is greater, the bread or the Spirit which thou possessest?"

In the first passage the difference is not very material, but in the second it is important. The Latin text is:

> "Stulta et caeca, quid est maius: panis aut Sanctus Spiritus qui sanctificat panem? Ergo si Spiritum Sanctum possides, uana obseruas et uana custodis."

If the Syriac copy from which Achelis made his translation is itself a translation from the Latin, it is quite possible that a line has been omitted in the process of copying or translating and that the Latin is the true version.[1]

Origen.—He testifies to an Invocation of some sort, but he leaves us in doubt as to whether he means one of the TRINITY, or of the LOGOS, or of the HOLY SPIRIT. But he is clearly conscious of an offering of bread which is "offered with thanksgiving and prayer," and which, "on account of the prayer" and the invocation, "is greater than the shewbread" and "becomes a certain holy body which sanctifies those who use it with right purpose."

Athanasius.—In accordance with what appears to have been the Alexandrian tradition, Athanasius seems to connect the consecration with the operation of the LOGOS, though he does not actually say so. And, indeed, he may not have been reported correctly by Eutychius. An error could have crept into his saying very easily between 362 and 552. His reporter was not orthodox, but the founder of the Eutychian heresy. S. Athanasius, on the contrary, was an orthodox champion at Nicaea in defence of the divinity of the SON. That council had before it a creed containing the word "LOGOS" which it discarded for the word "SON" in the creed it adopted. He was again a defender of the divinity of the HOLY GHOST in 358 in his correspondence with Serapion, to which we shall refer later.

Now if these words are his own they attest his belief that "the WORD comes down into the bread and cup" in answer to "the great prayers and supplications" which were certainly the Anaphora, and of which an Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT may well have been a part. On the other hand we must bear in mind that his writings are full of the doctrine of the LOGOS which is the Alexandrine line of tradition. We must note too that Athanasius, if the passage is genuine, does not speak of an *invocation* but of an *operation* of the LOGOS. The LOGOS *descends* into the elements and they become His BODY. Yet again, his successors Peter and Theophilus are most emphatically in favour of the Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT.

But, assuming that S. Athanasius used an Epiclesis of the

[1] On this see Srawley, p. 89 and Tyrer, p. 47.

Logos, he was the last of all to do so. That form of it, in spite of Serapion's example in 350, utterly died out in the East, if not with him, then at least by 373, excepting in one instance (as we shall find later) of a *double* Epiclesis.

Firmilian and Basil.—Neither of these Fathers indicates the form of Invocation which was used in Cappadocia in his time. But we may fairly deduce from S. Basil's emphatic words that it was well known, commonly used, and of some antiquity.

Cyprian.—When he wrote these words Cyprian was most probably thinking of something quite different from the Epiclesis. They may mean no more than that the sacraments of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion could not be celebrated by those who lacked the Holy Spirit, *i.e.*, who were outside the communion of the true Church.

Optatus.—On the other hand the evidence of this Father is quite conclusive that an Epiclesis of the Holy Ghost was the practice in his part of North Africa in his time.

Theophilus.—If Origen and Athanasius in the earlier period can be brought as witnesses for an Epiclesis of the Logos, Peter in the first and Theophilus in the second period give emphatic evidence that one of the Holy Spirit was in use in Egypt during their episcopates.

Gregory of Nyssa, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, and *Theodoret.*—Both the Cappadocian Fathers in the first period, Firmilian and Basil, refer to an Invocation. But of what sort? Surely not one of the Logos, for that form does not seem to have been used outside Egypt,[1] and even there to have been discarded about the middle of the fourth century. Was it the developed one of Cyril and *A.C.*, or the simpler one of *Ap. Trad.* and *A. and M.*? These two Fathers do not answer this question.

In the later period Theodoret is equally vague on this point, while he is emphatic on the use of some kind of Invocation as late as 423. Gregory of Nyssa (whose ministry followed close after that of his brother Basil) affirms, in his first statement, that the consecration is the work of the Spirit. His two later statements and that of Gregory Nazianzus seem to allude rather to an operation of, than to *consecration* by, the Logos, and if so they do not contradict S. Basil. It is improbable that they identified the Holy Spirit with our Lord Himself in the sense that S. Paul does when He calls Him "the Spirit of Jesus Christ,"[2] and as it would seem Ephraem and other East Syrian writers[3] did. It is more likely that these apparently inconsistent ways of treating the matter (which are not uncommon) show that they were feeling their way to systematised

[1] See Srawley, p. 126. [2] Phil. i. 19. [3] See Srawley, p. 228.

and formal expressions of theological thought. Their statements are inchoate and tentative, a relic of their Origenistic thought.

But do not all these *dicta* really mean the same thing, that in answer to the Great Prayer, of which the Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit was a part, the Word hallowed the bread by His presence for the purpose of communion? S. Gregory of Nazianzus would seem to imply an Epiclesis by his expression "when with word thou drawest down the Word." On the other hand were these Cappadocian Fathers, like S. Augustine and S. Ambrose, beginning at the same time (375–400) to incline to the idea which was afterwards adopted in the West, but which never found a footing in any Eastern Liturgy?

Augustine of Hippo.—The words of S. Augustine on this matter are too vague to be a guide to us. Regarding his words in *De Trin.* iii. 4, Dr. Srawley writes[1] that it "cannot with any security be adduced as evidence that Augustine is thinking of the operation of the Third Person of the Trinity in connection with the Sacrament. As the context shows, *spiritus Dei* is here synonymous with *God Himself* (cf. the words *Deus operetur* in the immediate context: Augustine is dealing with God's use of visible things as a means of manifesting Himself)." This passage is the only one in the whole of S. Augustine's voluminous writings which can be adduced as in any way supporting the Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit, which Optatus in the earlier period, and Fulgentius, who was coeval with S. Gregory the Great, testify was in use in North Africa in their days. Perhaps a different custom prevailed at Hippo from that elsewhere in North Africa,[2] or, maybe, the saint, who lived in a period of transition, recognised that there was truth in both theories. But his saying, last quoted, shows where his preference lay, and his wide influence certainly affected and strengthened the doctrine and practice which were adopted in the West a century and a half later.

Fulgentius.—As Fulgentius lived in this later period, when the last revision of the Roman Canon was made, his clear testimony to the use of an Epiclesis in North Africa at that time is very valuable. But like all other witnesses he does not tell us what form it took. One may reasonably suppose, however, that if it differed from the usual one he would have said so. But his whole treatment of the subject of the Holy Spirit's coming differs from that of S. Cyril. The reason for the Holy Spirit's blessed presence is, with this Father, the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace of which the reception of Holy Communion is the pledge.[3]

S. Jerome.—He is the first witness that Italy produces since

[1] p. 150. [2] Srawley, p. 151. [3] *ib.*, p. 230.

Hippolytus in 225 and Justin in 150. In his first quotation his word for "consecrated" is "conficitur," which is generally understood of the celebrant, unlike S. Cyril's ποιεῖν which is used of the Holy Spirit.[1] Nor does the second saying imply an Epiclesis. Neither of them is sufficiently explicit to build anything upon. But in 402 he was in Bethlehem, and there he made a translation of the pastoral letter just then issued by Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria (which we have quoted on p. 80). This translation he sent to two friends of his in Rome with a letter in which he expressed his warm approval of it.[2] This is no evidence of what was then the practice in Rome, nor is it any fresh evidence of the use of Alexandria. But it preserves to us the document of Theophilus, which is lost, and it shows how he viewed this question. This we shall find interesting and instructive when we are considering the Roman Canon.

S. Ambrose.—This Father cannot be quoted safely as being in favour of an Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit. He is, indeed, the exponent and the chief, if not the primary, teacher of the Verbal Theory. He and his contemporary Augustine greatly influenced Western theory, but we do not know to what extent their teaching affected the writer of *De Sacramentis*, or Gregory the Great when some 200 years later he revised the Canon. It is very doubtful if it altered Western *practice* at all. The first quotation proves nothing more than that he regarded the whole Anaphora as consecratory. The second one has been thought to imply an Epiclesis because he uses the words "in oblationibus invocatur."[3] But S. Ambrose may, when he wrote this passage, have been thinking, not of an Epiclesis, but of some other well-known prayer, or, more likely, was referring to a Trinitarian doxology at the end of the Eucharistic Prayer, just as he refers to the Trinitarian formula in Baptism. The third quotation shows clearly in which direction his belief lay. And with this before us we dare not read into the other two passages any reference to an Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit. "His treatment of the consecratory force of the words of Christ in the Eucharist moves in a different plane from that of Eastern writers like Cyril and Chrysostom, and shows no reference to the operation of the Holy Spirit."[4] We may say that his writings prepared the Western Church for the theory which she afterwards adopted. But all the writers of this age are tentative. S. Chrysostom about the same time (in the second passage quoted on p. 79) seems to regard the words of Christ as "perfecting the sacrifice." And yet he is a leader of Eastern thought in favour of the

[1] Srawley, p. 177.
[2] See Tyrer, p. 58.
[3] *ib.*, p. 62.
[4] Srawley, p. 163.

Epiclesis. They all start lines of thought which *later* become fixed theories.

De Sacramentis, 400, and *Gelasius*, 492–496, will be considered when we reach the Western rites. The first is against, the second in favour of, an Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit. They seem to show that Western opinion did not solidify on this question for a long time.

Making every allowance for different conceptions of the Eucharist, or for varying forms of the Epiclesis, there is a preponderance of Patristic opinion, in every country but Italy, in favour of an Epiclesis *of some kind*. There can be no question that the advocates of one of the Holy Spirit far exceed those who may seem to favour, and others who actually used, one of the Logos. It is also clear that the Western theory had not been thought of before the last quarter of the fourth century, unless, indeed, Roman practice has never varied. Of this we have no evidence.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

(1) REFLEX ACTION OF PRACTICE AND DOCTRINE

(1) BEFORE we leave the Fathers, we ought to note the effect that practice and doctrine have on each other.

Syria, which adhered steadfastly to the use of an Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT, is consistent in her teaching.

Egypt begins apparently with an Epiclesis of the TRINITY or of the LOGOS and ends with that of the HOLY SPIRIT. Her Fathers speak of the LOGOS as those of Syria speak of the HOLY SPIRIT. This teaching spreads to Cappadocia.

Cappadocia appears to have used the Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT only,[1] but whether in the primal form of *Ap. Trad.*, or in that developed in *A.C.*, we do not know. But the teaching of its Fathers seems to have tended towards that of Egypt.

North Africa, it would seem, had an Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT very early and retained it, except perhaps at Hippo, where S. Augustine inclined to the teaching of S. Ambrose.

Italy can produce no record of any definite practice in the critical period before 400, nothing for her doctrine to lean upon or cling to. So she formulates the Verbal theory in her teaching, and adopts it in practice.

(2) Before we study the Great Liturgies we ought to gain a clear idea of what the Epiclesis is in detail. We shall see that a normal Epiclesis consists of six ingredients.

(*a*) The Epiclesis is addressed to the FATHER;
(*b*) The Epiclesis is of the HOLY GHOST;
(*c*) That He may hallow the gifts;
(*d*) That He may make them the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST according to His promise and intention;
(*e*) To all who partake;
(*f*) That thereby they may continually receive His life.

The Liturgy of *S. James* was used in Jerusalem, and of it S. Cyril wrote in his *Mystagogic Catecheses*.[2] But as we have no

[1] Srawley, p. 208. [2] See p. 75.

earlier copy of it than one of the ninth century, and as Byzantine and other outside influence has produced at least some change in its original form,[1] we must go to the Syrian Jacobites to find it. These Jacobites are Monophysites, and it is believed that they have been more conservative in their liturgy than in their faith, and, being impervious to outside influence, have preserved the Anaphora in its original form. It is curiously ascribed to *S. John Chrysostom*.[2] There is a remarkable agreement between its Epiclesis and those of the Far Eastern Anaphoras, which are all based on *A. and M.*, as will be seen in the following table:

Adai and Mari, and *Malabar :*	*Syrian S. Chrysostom :*
(*a*) And, O my LORD,	(*a*) By this supplication made unto Thee, O LORD, GOD the FATHER Almighty,
(*b*) *A. and M.* may Thy HOLY SPIRIT come, and / *Mal.* send then Thy HOLY SPIRIT and let Him rest upon this oblation of Thy servants, and	(*b*) may Thy SPIRIT and Thy sanctifying virtue rest upon this holy thing,
(*c*) *A. and M.* may He bless it and hallow it / *Mal.* sanctify it,	(*c*) and sanctify these oblations (*b*) (a repetition) and may He descend, rest, and dwell upon, this bread, and upon this wine,
(*d*) (wanting)	(*d*) and may they become ONE BODY and BLOOD of Thy Only-Begotten SON, by Thy power, and the power of Thy Lively and HOLY SPIRIT,
	(*f*) And may this BODY of CHRIST our GOD be for a pledge of future life; a BODY conferring ninefold increase of those promised blessings;
(*e*) *A. and M.*—and may it be / *Mal.* —that it may be to us, O my LORD,	(*e*) a BODY preparing for us those celestial joys which await us,
(*f*) for the pardon of debts, and for the forgiveness of sins, and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and for new life in the kingdom of heaven with all those who have been well pleasing to Thee. (Then follows the Ascription.)	(*f*) for the renewing of our souls and bodies, for the purification of all uncleanness of flesh and spirit, for our preservation from every device of our wicked enemy, and for eternal life. (Then follow similar and lengthy petitions regarding the cup, prayers for worthy participation and fellowship with departed saints, and the Ascription.)

[1] Linton, p. 6.

[2] *ib.*, pp. 44–49.

Theodore:	*Nestorius:*
(*a*) And	(*a*) And, O my LORD,
(*b*) May there come upon us and upon this oblation the grace of the HOLY SPIRIT; may He dwell and rest upon this bread and upon this cup, and	(*b*) may there come the grace of the HOLY SPIRIT, and may He dwell and rest upon this oblation which we offer before Thee.
(*c*) may He bless and consecrate and seal them, in the Name of the FATHER and of the SON and of Thy HOLY SPIRIT.	(*c*) May He bless and consecrate it,
(*d*) By the power of Thy Name may this bread become the holy BODY of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and this cup the precious BLOOD of our LORD JESUS CHRIST.	(*d*) and make this bread and this cup to be the BODY and BLOOD of our LORD JESUS CHRIST; and do Thou change and consecrate them by the operation of the HOLY SPIRIT,
(*e*) And whoso in true faith eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup	(*e*) in such wise that the taking of these glorious and holy mysteries may be, to all such as receive them,
(*f*) may they be to him, O my LORD, for the pardon of debts and remission of sins, and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and for the salvation of his body and of his soul, and for life and glory for ever and ever. (Then follow prayers for worthy participation and fellowship with the departed saints, and then the Ascription.)	(*f*) unto eternal life and resurrection from the dead, and absolution of the body and of the soul and unto the light of knowledge, and to openness of face towards Thee, and unto that eternal salvation which Thou hast promised us through our LORD JESUS CHRIST. (Then follows a prayer for worthy participation and fellowship, and then the Ascription.)

We cannot but be impressed with the substantial concord, and even verbal agreement, in the Invocations of this Far Eastern family of liturgies. Indeed, those of *A. and M.* and *Malabar* are almost identical—so much so that they are probably not independent witnesses, but the same witness speaking in the early days of Christianity, and heard in our own time in India. If this is so, it is wonderful how this exact likeness has been maintained for so many centuries, at such a distance, through such troublous times, and with non-Christian races intervening between East Syria and India.

The witness of this family is different in character from that of the Greek and Latin liturgies, and is therefore all the more valuable. But there is a resemblance in some points with the liturgy of *S. Basil*,[1] as well as with that of *Syrian S. Chrysostom.*

But if we compare the liturgies of *Theodore* [2] and *Eth. Apostles* [3] (derivatives respectively of *A. and M.* and *Ap. Trad.* and probably of the same period) we shall find another remarkable similarity. The Epiclesis of *Eth. App.* is:

[1] Linton, pp. 58 f. [2] *ib.*, pp. 71 f. [3] *ib.*, pp. 107 f.

(*a*) We pray Thee, LORD, and beseech Thee;
(*b*) that Thou wouldest send the HOLY GHOST and power upon this bread and over this cup;
(*c*) (implied but wanting);
(*d*) May He make it the BODY and BLOOD of our LORD and our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST for ever and ever;
(*e*) Give it together unto all them that take of it, that it may be unto them;
(*f*) for sanctification and for fulfilling with the HOLY GHOST, and for confirming true faith that they may hallow and praise Thee and Thy Beloved SON JESUS CHRIST world without end. Grant us to be united in Thy HOLY SPIRIT, and heal us by this prosphora that we may live in Thee for ever, world without end.

Compare this with the analysis of *Theodore* on p. 92.

In both rites (*b*) is very emphatic. In *Eth. App.* (*c*) is missing but implied, as it is in the parent rite. While *Theodore*, like its parent, expresses this point. In both (*d*), which is missing in both parent rites, is introduced, showing how in both countries the parent rites had been understood.[1] In both, (*c*) and (*f*) are definitely expressed, though in different terms. Could there be more perfect agreement in all essentials than is shown in these two forms of the Epiclesis, used in two different families of liturgies, and in countries so far apart as Abyssinia and Persia?

It is most improbable that there was much, if any, communication between Persia or India and Abyssinia for many centuries, yet the agreement of ideas (though not in expressions) is exact.

The spiritual isolation of the Far East makes the likeness more marvellous still. These Far Eastern and very ancient churches (which claim descent from SS. Thaddaeus and Thomas) became Nestorian, and Abyssinia Monophysite. The schism of the Persian Church took place in 424, and Nestorius was condemned in 431. Ever since then these churches have been cut off from both East and West.

The Malabar Church, indeed, had been so entirely forgotten in the West that, when the Portuguese landed in Goa in the last years of the sixteenth century, they were surprised to find there a Christian, but heretical, church. At a synod held in 1599, for the purpose of bringing that Church into obedience to Rome, its service books were altered to make them conform to Roman ideas, and all those not so revised were burned. But, providentially, the ancient Epiclesis escaped, and we now find that it is identical with that of *A. and M.*

[1] See Chap. XV.

Another interesting point in the Anaphora of *Theodore* is that it supplies the account of the Institution which *A. and M.* curiously omits.[1] But this is also lacking in at least some of the Gallican Masses.[2] But even the LORD's prayer is missing from *A.C.* Can it be that these were so well known that it was thought unnecessary to write them down? Or was the omission intentional? If so, it would point to the belief that our LORD's words of distribution were not consecratory, and that the Epiclesis was so.

[1] Linton, pp. 68 f.; see also Srawley, p. 127.
[2] Linton, p. 113.

CHAPTER XIX

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

LITURGICAL EVIDENCE

(1) *The Evidence of the Liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, and their Derivatives* :—We now return to S. James and the later liturgies, and we find the same six essential features (p. 90) in them. We find no hint of a consecration by any other power, or for any other purpose, or on behalf of any other persons than the communicants. We shall not find in these liturgies the same verbal agreement as exists in the Far Eastern family, but the concord in essentials is quite obvious and substantial.

S. James.

(*a*) Have mercy upon us, O God (*Syr.* adds the Father Almighty), . . .
(*b*) and send down upon us, and upon these gifts lying before Thee, Thy Spirit
(*c*) . . . that He may come upon them with His holy . . . presence, and may hallow
(*d*) and make this bread to be the Holy Body of Christ, and this cup the precious Blood of Christ,
(*e*) that they may be to all those who partake of them
(*f*) for the remission of sins and for eternal life, for the sanctification of souls and of bodies, for bringing forth of good works (then follow intercessions for the whole Church living and at rest).

Severus of Antioch (*Syrian Jacobites*).

(*a*) O God, Father Almighty (in Deprecation),
(*b*) send to us from Thy holy height the Paraclete, Thy Spirit, the Lord and Life-Giver . . .
(*c*) send Him down upon us and upon these oblations . . . and sanctify them
(*d*) that He may make this bread to be the Life-giving . . . Celestial . . . Saving Body, both of our souls and bodies,

even the Body of our Lord, God, and Saviour Jesus Christ (a similar petition respecting the cup follows)
(*e*) to those who partake of It,
(*f*) for the remission of sins and for eternal life.

S. Chrysostom—the present normal use of the Orthodox Church.

(*a*) The anaphora is addressed to the Father.
(*b*) Send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts, lying before Thee
(*c*) missing
(*d*) and make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, and that which is in this cup, the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing them by Thy Holy Spirit,
(*e*) so that they may be to those who partake
(*f*) for purification of soul, forgiveness of sins, communion of the Holy Spirit, fulfilment of the kingdom of heaven, and boldness towards Thee, and not to judgment nor to condemnation (and then the intercessions follow).

S. Basil—used by the Orthodox on certain days. This anaphora is very like the *A. and M.* family, not only in the Epiclesis but elsewhere.

(*a*) God and Father (in the Anamnesis)
(*b*) we pray . . . that Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us and upon these gifts lying before Thee
(*c*) and bless and hallow
(*d*) and make this bread to be the precious Body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that which is in this cup to be the precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ which was poured out for the life of the world.
(*e*) That Thou wouldest unite all of us who are partakers of the One Bread and of the Chalice to one another
(*f*) into the fellowship of One Holy Spirit, and not cause any of us to partake of the Holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ unto judgment or condemnation, but that we may find mercy and grace with all Thy saints, who from of old have been well pleasing unto Thee, etc.

S. Mark—the use of Alexandria before 1300, *not now used.*

(*a*) O Master, Lord, Almighty, Heavenly King (in Anamnesis)
(*b*) we pray and beseech Thee to send down from Thy holy height . . . the very Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, the Holy, the Lord, the Life-giving.

(*c*) . . . Look upon us, and send forth upon these loaves and on these cups Thy HOLY SPIRIT, that He may sanctify and perfect them [1] as being Omnipotent GOD.
(*d*) and may make this bread the BODY and this cup the BLOOD of the New Testament of our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR and universal KING JESUS CHRIST.
(*e*) that they may be to all of us who partake of them
(*f*) for faith, for soberness, for healing, for self-control, for sanctification, for renovation of soul, body, and spirit, for participation in the blessedness of eternal life and immortality, for the glorifying of Thy Holy Name, and for the remission of sins (then follows the Ascription. The Intercession comes earlier).

Alexandrian S. Basil (*still used by the Copts on certain days*).

(*a*) GOD and FATHER (in Anamnesis), We pray Thee . . .
(*b*) that Thy HOLY SPIRIT may come upon us . . . and upon these gifts . . .
(*c*) and may sanctify and make them most holy
(*d*) that He may make this bread the Holy BODY of our very LORD and GOD our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, and this cup the Precious BLOOD of the New Covenant of our LORD, our very GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST
(*e*) to all who partake of it
(*f*) for the remission of sins and life everlasting (then follow a prayer for worthy participation, intercessions, Ascription).

Alexandrian S. Gregory—used by the Copts on certain days. This anaphora is wholly addressed to our LORD, including the Epiclesis, but it also contains an Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT.

The Epiclesis of the *WORD* contains none of the points for which we are looking. It is as follows:

"Do Thou, therefore, O LORD, [2] with Thine own voice [2], [3] change [4] these gifts lying before Thee [4]: [5] Thyself being present, accomplish this mystic liturgy [5]; do Thou thyself preserve for us the memorial of Thine adoration and worship."

The Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT follows immediately and it contains all these points but (*a*), which is of course absent. It is as follows:

[1] Cf. "ratified" in *De Sacramentis* (Linton, p. 127).
[2–2] Cf. Acts of Thomas and Mozarabic.
[3] Cf. Nestorius, S. Chrys., Armenia, Copt. S. Mark.
[4–4] S. James and others.
[5–5] Cf. Acts of Thomas and preliminary Epiclesis in Serapion.

(*b*) [1] Send down Thy HOLY SPIRIT, that, coming with His holy, good and glorious presence,
(*c*) He may sanctify and [2] change [1] these precious and holy gifts lying before Thee
(*d*) into the very BODY and BLOOD [3] of our redemption [3] (Amen)
(*d* a repetition) [4] And that He may make this bread to become the Holy BODY of Thee our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR, the KING of us all, JESUS CHRIST,
(*f*) for the remission of sins and for eternal life
(*e*) to those communicating from It. (Amen)
(*d*) And this cup Thy precious BLOOD of Thy New Testament, of our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR, and KING of us all, JESUS CHRIST,
(*f*) for the remission of sins and for eternal life
(*e*) to those communicating from It (Amen).[4]

The Anaphora of *Serapion*, as we have seen, is unique, in that, while it is addressed to the FATHER, its Epiclesis is of the SON, and not of the HOLY SPIRIT (Eph. ii. 18). That of *Alex. S. Gregory* is even more remarkable, and, as it seems to have exercised considerable influence on Western rites, it may be well to analyse it.

In the first clause of the prayer to the SON, which corresponds to the Epiclesis of the WORD in Serapion, the words "with Thine own voice" remind one of those in the Gnostic prayer in *The Acts of Thomas* (*c.* 220), "we beg of Thee that Thou wouldest come and communicate with us for help and for life [5]"—words seemingly not attested before in the Catholic Church. Then follows "change these gifts," not in the Gnostic prayer, and not reappearing until they are used in the liturgies of Nestorius, Armenia, S. Chrysostom and Coptic S. Mark. "Lying before Thee" first appears in S. James. "Thyself being present, accomplish this mystic liturgy" reminds us of the Gnostic prayer, and Serapion's "come upon this bread, that the bread may become," etc. For the concluding words, "do Thou Thyself preserve us a memorial" (*n.b. not* "of Thy death and passion" to which the memorial had referred, but) "*of Thine adoration and worship*," there does not seem to be any precedent whatever.

[1–1] St. James, but note the absence of "upon us" and the insertion of "change."
[2] Cf. Nestorius, S. Chrys., Armenia, Copt. S. Mark.
[3–3] Cf. "of the Truth" in Serapion and "of the New Covenant" in Copt. S. Mark.
[4–4] Cf. *Copt. S. Mk.*, *Alex. S. Basil*, *Severus*, *S. James*. [5] Linton, p. 140.

Then follows an Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT. Either this is inserted in accordance with the Gnostic example in the Acts of Thomas, or else the compiler was not happy about his most unusual prayer to our LORD, and, in his fear, added an Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT, so as to make sure. In writing it he seems to have ransacked all available liturgies for his patchwork, for it contains bits of *Coptic S. Mark*, *Alex. S. Basil*, *Severus*, and *S. James* in his dozen lines. This addition has two distinct parts, derived from quite different sources. The whole anaphora lacks the consistency, rhythm and dignity of other Eastern liturgies, and is evidently of late date.

(2) *Some Peculiarities of the Syrian and Egyptian Rites.* Before we leave the Syrian and Egyptian liturgies we must note some peculiarities of each which have left their mark on the Western family.

(a) *Syrian.*—In all the Jacobite anaphoras the Anamnesis, Oblation, and Deprecation are *addressed to the SON*, perhaps in imitation of the Epiclesis of Serapion, but more probably (and quite naturally) because of our LORD's High Priesthood (remembering such passages as Heb. iv. 16 and John x. 9, but forgetting Eph. ii. 18, 1 Cor. xii. 13 and John xv. 16, by which the former are qualified).

In some of these Deprecations, also, there is included a prayer that the oblation may be received by Him upon the heavenly altar. *Severus* has: "Receive upon Thy spiritual and supercelestial altar this sacrifice for a sweet savour." In *Syr. S. Chrys.* the words are: "We beseech Thee . . . that this oblation . . . may be received in the presence of Thy Majesty upon Thy spiritual altar, which is higher than the heavens, *in the dwelling place of angels*, amongst the congregation of saints, in the place of Thy Divine presence, in the transcendent dwelling of Thy secret place."

We shall see later how these peculiarities have affected *the Epiclesis* in the West. And we note that the Epiclesis in these Syrian anaphoras is *always of the HOLY SPIRIT.*

(b) *Egyptian.*—Nearly all Egyptian anaphoras have a preliminary epiclesis, and some a preliminary oblation, placed before the Commemoration of the Institution as well as a longer one following it.

Serapion has both.

Preliminary Epiclesis.—"Fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and Thy participation." This again sounds like the Gnostic: "Come and communicate with us."

Preliminary Oblation.—" For to Thee have we offered this living sacrifice, the bloodless oblation. To Thee have we offered this bread, the *likeness* of the BODY of the Only-Begotten. . . . We have offered also the cup, the *likeness* of the BLOOD."

S. Mark has a preliminary Epiclesis, which uses the form of Serapion but turns it into an epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT: " Fill also, O GOD, this sacrifice with the blessing which is from Thee, by the descent upon it of Thy all-holy SPIRIT.

Preliminary Oblation.—" We offer to Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, which all nations offer to Thee, O LORD, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same; from the north unto the south; for Thy Name is great among all nations, and in every place incense is offered to Thy holy Name, and a pure offering, sacrifice and oblation."

Coptic S. Mark has both preliminary epiclesis and oblation in almost identical words. But it adds the following to the oblation: " And in blessing bless, and in purifying purify, these Thy venerable gifts laid out before Thee, this bread and this cup."

Compare this with the preliminary oblation of Rome.

Alex. S. Basil has neither.

Alex. S. Gregory (being addressed to our LORD) has no preliminary epiclesis. Its preliminary oblation—unusual, like so much else in this anaphora—is:

" Of this my freedom I offer Thee the *symbols*, and ascribe to Thy words that which is accomplished, for Thou art He who didst commit to me this mystic *participation* of Thy Flesh in bread and wine."

Compare this also with *Serapion* and the Acts of Thomas. Also compare " ascribe to Thy words that which is accomplished " with " Thyself being present, accomplish this mystic liturgy earlier in this rite." This strange passage seems to define the words of Institution as consecratory.

CHAPTER XX

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

THE WESTERN LITURGIES

It is beyond the scope of this work to trace the history of the Western rites or even to give an outline of them. And it is unnecessary to do so, because the subject is dealt with fully in well-known books. For fuller information on the points to be discussed in these pages the reader is referred to Duchesne's *Christian Worship*, Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Fortescue's *The Mass* and Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy*. This wider reading is needed in order to understand the vexed question of the Roman Canon. In discussing the Epiclesis only it will be necessary to bear in mind the following facts for which Linton and the authors just mentioned are the authorities.

1. *The Mozarabic Use.*—It is supposed that the liturgy of Spain was in a state of flux up to about the year 300, and that it was largely influenced by Eastern and Egyptian rites. Then, as it solidified, it drew its inspiration from Gaul rather than from Rome. It lasted much longer than the native French rite. In 561 a Synod of Braga ordered the use of the Roman rite, but in 588 a reaction set in, and not until 1085 was the national liturgy abolished. However, it lingered on in Toledo, where it is still used in a Romanised form in certain churches (and in one chapel in Salamanca) by special papal permission.[1]

Isidore of Seville (d. 636) is the great commentator and authority on the Spanish rite. "His two books *De Ecclesiasticis officiis* are," says Fortescue,[2] "a regular text book of liturgiology; they treat of the services, chants, buildings, instruments and persons." We have already [3] quoted his testimony as to the existence of an Epiclesis in Spain after the death of Gregory the Great (604), who, some suppose, removed it from the Roman Canon. He describes the chief prayers of the Mass, and amongst them mentions "a sixth prayer, the conformation (*conformatio*) of the sacrament, that the oblation which is offered to God,

[1] Fortescue, p. 180. [2] *ib.*, p. 194. [3] p. 78.

being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, may be conformed (*conformetur*) to the Body and Blood of Christ." [1]

In searching for this Epiclesis in Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies we are hampered by the peculiarity that they are for the most part variable, not, that is, as regards locality, but from day to day as well as from season to season. And this is so *even in essentials*. Only the Sanctus, Commemoration and Doxology seem to have been fixtures. This feature is in itself a witness to their great antiquity—a relic of the time before liturgies had been standardised, when bishops were more free to frame their own formulae.[2] But in this feature lay a great danger—the danger that some essential might be omitted. And this actually happened. In some documents the Oblation, in others the Invocation, in others both of them, are missing.[3] This is so in both the Mozarabic and the Gallican rites, but more often so in the former than in the latter. Therefore we must expect to find the six points we are looking for only in such Masses as contain an Invocation and then only in the most ancient forms. We must look for the Invocation in the prayer which follows the Commemoration of the Institution and which is called Post Pridie. It takes the place of the Eastern Oblation, Deprecation and Epiclesis.

Of this prayer in Mozarabic Masses Dr. Robinson writes: [4]

> "*Post Pridie*, that is, 'After *Qui pridie quam pateretur*,' etc. . . . is in general a prayer for the acceptance of the gifts, or for the sanctification of the elements or the worshippers with a view to a profitable communion. I have examined 225 forms of the *Post Pridie* prayer, and find that in 39 only is sanctification asked for through the Holy Spirit. In 29 it is asked direct from Christ [5]; in one from the Holy Trinity; in six by means of an angel: usually the petition is simply addressed to God. In only six instances is there a request that the Holy Spirit may be sent for the purpose of effecting the change of the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ."

If the date of each of these 225 Masses could be ascertained we should be better able to compare them with the Eastern Anaphoras and the Roman Canon, and to see how far they were influenced by both, and how far the latter was affected by them and by those of the Gallican Church. Many of them must be later than 400, because the Christian year, on which many of

[1] See Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 217. [2] Frere, p. 8.
[3] See Linton, pp. 21–23. [4] *Theology*, Feb. 1924, p. 94.
[5] Cf. *Alex. S. Gregory* (Linton, p. 100).

them are based, dates from about that time.[1] Dr. Robinson infers that some of them belong to the sixth and seventh centuries.

In studying these and the Gallican Masses it will be well to keep an open mind as regards the following questions:

(1) Is the Invocation of the Holy Spirit in these Masses an original and universal feature, which has been modified in favour of Roman ideas?

(2) Is the Invocation of the Holy Spirit only one of the forms which in these lands a consecration prayer took, and were all the varieties equally original or unoriginal? Had these people made up their minds on the matter in early times, or did they use quite freely different forms in different places because their ideas were unfixed?

(3) How far were the Invocations of the Holy Spirit an importation due to the influence of other churches?

Linton gives Mozarabic two Post Pridie Prayers:

i. *Mass for the Nativity.*[2]

Oblation.—" Observing, O Lord, these Thy gifts and commands, we place upon Thine altar these offerings of bread and wine, beseeching Thee in the abundance of Thy goodness and compassion. . . ."

Epiclesis.—

(*a*) (is missing, as the prayer is addressed to our Lord.)
(*b*) " that by the power of the same Spirit by which uncorrupt virginity conceived Thee in the flesh
(*c*) the Undivided Trinity may sanctify these oblations,
(*d*) (missing)
(*e*) so that, when they shall be received by us with no less fear than veneration,
(*f*) whatever there be of life harmful to the soul may wither, and that what has withered may in no wise live again."

In its simplicity and in the absence of (*d*) this Epiclesis reminds us of *Ap. Trad.* But the Mass is, in one respect, unlike any other that we have analysed. It is addressed to the Father, but the Oblation and the Epiclesis are made to the Son, and the latter is of the Holy Spirit. Compare the *Jacobite* anaphoras and *Alexandrian S. Gregory's* second Epiclesis.

ii. *Mass for the Epiphany.*

The *Post Pridie* contains neither Anamnesis nor Oblation nor Epiclesis. It is:

[1] See Linton, p. 22. [2] *ib.*, pp. 116–23.

> "Appear, O LORD, make Thyself known, O LORD, as Thou didst appear, manifest in the flesh, born of a Virgin, found by the shepherds, recognised in power, proclaimed by the star, adored with gifts, declared in the river, believed on in faith, received up in the cloud, promised again by him that announced: that by the grace of this holy festival Thy Church may now receive Thy joys, as once it made known Thy mysteries."

This Mass, like that of *Alex. S. Gregory*, is wholly addressed to our LORD, and both of them resemble the Gnostic prayer in *The Acts of Thomas*[1]: "We beg of Thee that Thou wouldest come and communicate with us" (*Thomas*); "Do Thou. . . . with Thine own voice . . . Thyself being present" (*S. Greg.*); "Appear, O LORD, make Thyself known"—all convey the same idea, that our LORD comes as the Consecrator of His own feast—an idea traceable through Egypt to the Gnostics.[2] The remainder of this prayer is reminiscent of 1 Tim. iii. 16: "Great is the mystery of godliness." Compare also the last words of this prayer, "made known Thy mystery" with "He left us this great mystery of godliness" in *Alex. S. Basil*,[3] and with "this saving mystery of the BODY and BLOOD of Thine only Begotten Son" in *Armenia*[4] for traces of Egyptian and Eastern influence. The Sursum Corda of both these Mozarabic Masses is like that in *S. Chrysostom*[5] and *S. Basil*[6] and the Ter-Sanctus of the second retains the Greek words. The *Benedictus Qui* follows it in both Masses as in Syria, and there is no preliminary Oblation or Epiclesis such as we find in Egypt. On the other hand the position of the Intercessions is Egyptian not Syrian. The Eastern phrase, "In that night in which He was betrayed," is used, and not, as we would expect, the Western, "Qui pridie quam pateretur." Neither Mass prefixes a Salutation to the Sursum Corda, which is peculiar.

iii. For another example of a Mozarabic Mass the student is referred to Duchesne.[7] In it the Epiclesis is clearly indicated.

2. *The Gallican Rite.*

The origin of the Gallican rite is uncertain. Most probably it is indigenous, a development of the use of the first missionaries. It is akin to the Mozarabic, the Celtic, and the Ambrosian

[1] See p. 98 and Linton, pp. 100 and 140.
[2] So does Serapion's "Fill this sacrifice with Thy power and participation." See p. 77.
[3] Linton, p. 93. [4] *ib.*, p. 66. [5] *ib.*, p. 55. [6] *ib.*, p. 58.
[7] *Christian Worship*, p. 217.

rites, and some writers regard it as their parent.[1] Others think that it may have been the original Roman rite, because both have variable parts based on the calendar, and both use the phrase "The day before"; but they are structurally different, and these points of resemblance arise from other causes. An old idea that it was brought from Ephesus to Lyons in very early days has been abandoned as having no evidence in its favour. Duchesne points out that it could not have been earlier than 300 because it is very elaborate. In this respect it differs from the Roman and resembles Eastern rites of the fourth century. There is a detailed account of this liturgy written by S. Germanus of Paris (d. 576). It contained an Anamnesis and an Epiclesis of the Holy Ghost in the usual place after the Commemoration. No mention is made of any *preliminary* Oblation or Epiclesis, such as Egyptian Anaphoras have. An interesting detail in this account is that the Lord's prayer at the end of the Anaphora "is sung as in the East by the people as well as by the Celebrant." "There was much variety in detail everywhere. A Capitularium of the Frankish bishops in 742 allows every priest to arrange his own . . . service book, as long as he submits it to his bishop for approval; and Charles the Great, when he made laws for uniformity in the Roman rite (*c.* 784) gave as his reason the confusion of liturgical use that had hitherto prevailed." The final extinction of this rite, says Linton,[3] dates from a decree of Pepin referred to in the *Admonitio Generalis* of Charlemagne (789). "By about the year 1000 very little was left of the 'Gallican' rite except in Spain and perhaps Scotland."[4] Dr. Fortescue has a very interesting and instructive section on this rite.[5]

Linton also supplies the following two examples, one with, and the other without, an Oblation.[6]

Missa V Missale Richenovense :

Oblation (implied).—"And as we make this (? memorial), we ever show forth the glory of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and our God" (*a* is implied here).

Epiclesis.—(*c*) We pray that with Thy blessing Thou wilt bless this sacrifice,
(*b*) and besprinkle it with the dew of Thy Holy Spirit;
(*e*) that to all who partake.
(*d*, implied) it may be a Eucharist, pure, real, valid.
(*f*) missing.

[1] Linton, p. 10, but this is questioned by some very high authorities.
[2] Fortescue, pp. 101–4. [3] Linton, p. 11. [4] *ib.*, p. 13.
[5] Fortescue, pp. 97 ff. [6] pp. 110–15.

(*c*) reminds us of the preliminary Epiclesis in *Coptic S. Mark:* [1] "And in blessing, bless, and in purifying, purify these Thy venerable gifts laid out before Thee, this bread and this cup," and also of that of Rome: [2] "Vouchsafe to accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy unspotted sacrifices." Note that all the six points but (*f*), which is implied, are present in this Epiclesis and that (*e*) is made more emphatic by being placed before (*d*); cf. with (*d*) the saying of Irenaeus: [3] "Bread receiving the Invocation of God is no longer common bread but Eucharist."

In the second Mass which Linton gives, the Epiclesis is in almost the same words, and so it presents the same features.

Duchesne writes thus of the Gallican Epiclesis: "Then follows a prayer in which there is an elaboration of two themes, one of the commemoration of our Lord, and the other of the eucharistic change effected by the operation of the Holy Spirit. It sometimes happens, moreover, that neither of these ideas is found expressed. I will give here two specimens, both of them taken from the *Missale Gothicum*, the first for the Mass of the Nativity, and the second for that of the *Circumcision.* The prayer is prefaced by a rubric which appears in the different forms, *Post Secreta*, *Post Pridie*, *Post Mysterium.*"

The first is in effect a short Anamnesis, addressed to our Lord and contains, therefore, none of the six points.

The other is a prayer (*a*) to God, that this sacrifice may

(*b*) in His Name and that of His Son and Holy Spirit,
(*c*) be blessed and hallowed,
(*e*) and made to us a legitimate Eucharist
(*d*) and transformed into the Body and Blood of Christ.
(*f*) missing.

3. *The Celtic Rite.*

This rite seems to have been practically the same as the Gallican one. Its Epiclesis was of the same kind. It is preserved to us in the Stowe Missal and other fragments. It was supplanted by the Roman rite at the Synod of Cloveshoe [4] (747).

4. *Milan.*

The origin of this rite is uncertain. It is called "Ambrosian" after the famous bishop of that city from 381–397. But though he may have influenced it, it is of a much earlier period. His writings on the practice in his day have been collected by Dr.

[1] Linton, p. 103.
[2] *ib.*, p. 125.
[3] See p. 71.
[4] Fortescue, p. 179.

Srawley,[1] and a short history of the rite is given by Dr. Fortescue.[2] It is undoubtedly of the Gallican family, but it has been Romanised, even more so than the Mozarabic. Normally the whole of the Roman Canon is inserted, but on certain days [2] the old Gallican Post Pridie prayers are used. "An Epiclesis used only on Maundy Thursday preserves the invocation of GOD the SON."[2]

There is no trace of any earlier fixed rite than the Gallican throughout Spain, Gaul, the British Isles, and Northern Italy. "Even the southern dioceses (writes Fortescue [3]) of the peninsula had their own liturgical use. Nor does the old rite of Africa appear to have been Roman, though it had Roman features. Since about the eighth century this local Roman rite gradually spread all over the West, displacing the others, but was itself modified in the process, as we shall see. Before that time the rest of Western Europe, almost to the gates of Rome, used other rites."

[1] Srawley, pp. 160 f. [2] Fortescue, p. 106. [3] *ib.*, pp. 97 f.

CHAPTER XXI

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

THE ROMAN CANON

For a full description and the history of this ancient rite we must again refer the student to the larger books of well-known writers such as Duchesne and Fortescue. The latter [1] gives some very suggestive information in his second chapter on "The Parent Rites and their Descendants," and in the third on "The Origin of the Roman Rite." Wyatt [2] gives the Canon in Latin and English in parallel columns.

This venerable prayer has most justly excited the admiration and won the affection of millions of saintly souls in every generation. Its exalted and inspiring language has fostered the faith and devotion of Western worshippers for many centuries. Its core and kernel are simple in form and evangelical in tone, when stripped of obvious additions and of the interpretations which have been woven into them.

But what must at once strike the student of Eastern rites is the absence of any kind of Epiclesis either of the fourth century form or of the earlier and simpler type of *Ap. Trad* or *A. and M.* This alone puts the Roman rite in a class by itself. This peculiarity has puzzled liturgiologists, and is still the subject of much controversy. Did the rite ever have an Epiclesis? And if so, when was it dropped, and why? There is no satisfactory evidence to enable these questions to be answered. But there are facts which point in contrary directions.

We must first note the absence before 400 of any document giving a text of this rite. In the East we have documents half a century earlier. And Rome was then the centre of the world. But though we have not its form, we have references to it. These are:—

Vigilius in 538 says that the Canon was unalterable; Innocent I in 416 requires conformity to it; *De Sacramentis* (*c.* 400) supplies either its form at that date, or else one parallel to it; Pope Damasus (366–384) made radical changes in it; and Sixtus seems

[1] Fortescue, pp. 77–171. [2] *The Eucharistic Prayer*, pp. 2–8.

(*c.* 119–128) to have inserted the Sanctus in it.[1] Though we do not know its earliest form and cannot be sure of some of these claims, we can be certain that the indigenous Roman rite was the parent of the present one.

Again, the Canon, as we have it, now bears within itself traces of great antiquity. It lacks the smooth and logical sequence of an Eastern Anaphora, and bears the evident scars of dislocation and change. By whom, and when, the alterations were made we have no means of ascertaining. But they are, in themselves, marks of age.

The chief reasons for supposing that the Canon never had an Epiclesis are:—

(1) The whole trend of Roman theology is monarchian. It was content to appeal to GOD generally without thinking of the particular operation of any Person of the TRINITY. That is the feature of this Canon. The oft-quoted statement of Justin (150) has been shown [2] to refer not to the HOLY SPIRIT but to JESUS CHRIST, and the Great Thanksgiving which he quotes is addressed to GOD. Jerome (d. 420) gives us no ground for supposing that an Epiclesis was used in Rome. His letter about Theophilus, written while he was in Bethlehem, may mean that he found in the East a practice different from that which he and his friends had been accustomed to at Rome.[3] Between these two writers we have no sure foundation for the use of an Epiclesis. Nor have we any right to conclude, without further evidence, that *Ap. Trad.* was the origin of the Roman rite, or that it was used by others than Hippolytus and his congregation.

(2) The Canon has a simple and early character. Whatever changes have subsequently been made in it, it is originally a type of prayer quite distinct from an Eastern Anaphora. It follows a line of thought all its own.

(*a*) Its first part, if the intercessory clauses are omitted, is Eucharistic,[4] *i.e.*, it is the united thankoffering of priest and people, in which the people's part is clearly expressed.

(*b*) Its central part is a simple service comprising *Qui pridie* (the Commemoration), *Unde et memores* (the Anamnesis and Oblation), *Supra quae* (which stands where we expect an Epiclesis and is a prayer for the acceptance of the Oblation), and *Supplices Te* (in which the prayer for worthy participation is to be found). All these prayers have in mind the Communion which is the object and climax of the service.

(*c*) There is in it no clear expression of any "moment of consecration."

[1] Summarised from Fortescue.
[2] Above p. 71.
[3] Above p. 88.
[4] See Srawley, pp. 172, 191.

In these respects it coincides with Justin Martyr's earliest description. It contains also the same elements as an Eastern Anaphora, with the Epiclesis omitted. But it is more akin in sentiment and idea to the earlier type of *Ap. Trad.* and *A. and M.*

This view is held by many eminent scholars.

Others equally distinguished, chiefly in Germany, take the opposite view. They point to the dislocation of the Canon, its lack of sequence, its abrupt transitions and reduplications, as evidence of reconstruction and change. Between the Sanctus and the Commemoration there is no sign of the Great Thanksgiving of Justin Martyr, but in its place we find five prayers, of which the first, fourth, and fifth are for the acceptance and blessing of the offerings and oblation, and the second and third are intercessions. Then, after the prayer for worthy participation (in *Supplices*), there are two more intercessions and two doxologies. It is these reduplicated and unconnected prayers that are the puzzle. How did they get into the Canon? Mr. Wyatt has traced some of these clauses to their original sources, and has shown that they did not then stand where they do to-day. Many theories concerning them have been propounded, and many reconstructions of the Canon have been suggested. Dr. Fortescue gives a number of them.[1] We shall refer to them later. They should be studied, but with the recollection that they are but theories and conjectures for which there is no sure ground, and with a sound knowledge of all the historical facts relating to this rite. These facts are given in a convenient form by Dr. Srawley,[2] and it is unnecessary to repeat them here, especially as they cover a much wider ground than the present inquiry. He gives the history of the rite as far as it can be ascertained, and the detailed references made to it. He compares it with *De Sacramentis* on the one side and with Eastern rites on the other. His comparison of *De Sacramentis* with the Roman Canon in parallel columns is especially valuable to the student.

[1] pp. 110–171. [2] pp. 174–194.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

DE SACRAMENTIS

Comparison with the Egyptian Rites.—In the suggested reconstructions of the Roman Canon quoted by Dr. Fortescue there are two by eminent German scholars, Dr. Drews [1] and Dr. Baumstark,[2] both of whom connect some of the changes made in it with Alexandria. We have seen [3] that a feature of Egyptian Anaphoras was the preliminary Oblation and the preliminary Epiclesis. Can it be possible that Rome had originally the same feature, or that she borrowed the idea from Alexandria? There was an alliance between Rome and Alexandria in the fifth century.[4] This was certainly after the period in which the changes must have been made, but the influence, if indeed it existed, may have been earlier. The following table suggests some parallels. In it all prayers which precede the Commemoration are termed *preliminary*. Oblation is the name given to any prayer which asks for the *acceptance* of an offering, and *pro-epiclesis* to such as asks for a *blessing* upon the offering, but does not specify the consecrator.

For the sake of illustration only we assume here that *De Sacramentis* was the Roman Canon in an earlier form, or one parallel to it.

In *S. Mark* we find for the first time a preliminary Epiclesis and (what it demands logically) a preliminary Oblation superimposed. In *Serapion* this natural order is reversed, for the preliminary Epiclesis is placed *before* the preliminary Oblation. We have already noted in *Alex. S. Gregory* [5] a preliminary Oblation in which occurs the word "symbols," which is the equivalent of "antitypes" in *S. Basil*, of "likeness" in *Serapion*, and of "figure" in *De Sacramentis*.[6] It also seems to regard our LORD's words as consecratory.[7] This liturgy, being later than *S. Mark* and *Serapion*, could not have affected them, but it may have influenced

[1] See Fortescue, p. 164. [2] *ib.*, p. 149. [3] Cf. p. 100.
[4] Against Antioch and Constantinople, at the time of the Acacian Schism (484–519), see Fortescue, p. 164.
[5] Above, p. 100. [6] On this see Srawley, pp. 232 f. [7] Linton, p. 99.

IV. *Serapion.*	III. *S. Mark.*	II. *A.C.*	I. *Ap. Trad.*
	Preliminary Pro-Epiclesis.		
Fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and Thy participation.	None	None	None
	Preliminary Oblation.		
for to Thee we have offered this living sacrifice, the bloodless oblation. To Thee we have offered this bread, the likeness of the Body of the Only Begotten . . . because the Lord Jesus Christ, on the night in which He was betrayed. . . . We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the Blood, because the Lord Jesus Christ taking a cup after supper. . . .	We offer to Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice (intercessions here)	None	None
	Preliminary Epiclesis.		
	(*a*) Fill also, O God, this sacrifice with the blessing which is from Thee, by the descent upon it of Thy All-Holy Spirit. For our Lord and our God and Universal King, Jesus Christ		
	Commemoration.		
	in the night wherein. . . . Likewise also the cup	For in the night . . betrayed. . . . Likewise also . mingled . cup	And . betrayed . . . Likewise also the cup. . . .

V. *De Sacramentis.*	VI. *Rome.*
	First Preliminary Pro-Epiclesis.
None	*Te igitur.* We therefore humbly pray (*a*) and beseech Thee, most merciful FATHER. . . . that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy unspotted sacrifices which, in the first place, we offer unto Thee for (Here follow intercessions for the Church, the Pope, the bishop and the faithful.) *Memento Domine* (for the living). *Communicantes* (for the departed).
	Preliminary Oblation.
None	*Hanc igitur.* We therefore (*a*) beseech Thee, O LORD, graciously to accept this oblation of our service as also of Thy whole family [dispose our days in peace, command us to be delivered from eternal damnation and to be numbered in the flock of Thine elect [1]] through CHRIST our LORD. Amen
Preliminary Epiclesis.	*Second Preliminary Pro-Epiclesis.*
Make for us this oblation (*c*) approved, ratified, reasonable, acceptable, because it is the figure of the BODY and BLOOD of our LORD JESUS CHRIST	*Quam oblationem.* Which oblation do Thou, O GOD, (*c*) vouchsafe to make in every way blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable and acceptable, that it may become (*c*) to us (*d*) the BODY and BLOOD of Thy most dearly beloved SON JESUS CHRIST our LORD.
	Commemoration.
Who the day before He. Likewise also He. . cup	*Qui pridie.* Who the day before He suffered . . . Likewise after supper.

[1] Added about 600 by Gregory the Great.

IV. *Serapion.*	III. *S. Mark.*	II. *A.C.*	I. *Ap. Trad.*
		The Anamnesis and Oblation.	
Wherefore, we also, making the likeness of the death, have offered the bread. . . . We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the Blood	O Master . . we proclaiming the death . . Son . . confessing . . res. . asc. . . session . . looking . . second . . coming . . judge . . living . dead . works, have set before Thy sight Thine own of Thine own gifts,	Remembering . . His passion . death . res . . ascens. . . coming . . . according . works . offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to His institution this bread and this cup; . .	Mindful of His death and resurrec. we offer to Thee this bread and this cup .
Epiclesis of the Word.		*The Epiclesis.*	
(*a*) O God of truth	(*a*) And we . beseech Thee O Good One . Lover of men	(*a*) And we beseech Thee . . O God . .	(*a*) And we beseech Thee
(*b*) (missing) let Thy Holy Word come upon this bread	(*b*) . . send forth upon these loaves and on these cups Thy Holy Spirit, that as being Omnipotent God	(*b*) and that Thou wilt send down . . . Thy Holy Spirit . . . upon this sacrifice	(*b*) that Thou wouldest send Thy Holy Spirit upon this oblation of Thy church
(*c*) missing	(*c*) He may sanctify and perfect them	(*c*) missing	(*c*) missing
(*d*) the bread may become Body of the Word, and upon the cup, that the cup may become Blood of the Truth;	(*d*) and make this bread the Body and this cup the Blood of the New Testament of our Lord and God and Saviour and Universal King Jesus Christ	(*d*) that He may make this bread to the Body of Thy Christ and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ;	(*d*) joining them together Thou wouldest grant It
(*e*) and make all who communicate	(*e*) that they may be to all of us who partake of them	(*e*) that all who shall partake thereof	(*e*) to all Thy holy ones who partake,
(*f*) to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness, and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of Truth, and not for censure and reproach. For we have invoked Thee, and Uncreated, through the Only-Begotten in Holy Spirit	(*f*) for faith, for soberness, for healing, for self-control, for sanctification, for renovation of soul body and spirit, for participation in the blessedness of eternal life and immortality, for the glorifying of Thy holy Name, and for the remission of sins; that in this as in all things Thy all-holy and precious and glorious Name may here and everywhere be praised and hymned and sanctified with Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost	(*f*) may be confirmed in piety, may receive remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his wiles, may be filled with The Holy Ghost, may become worthy of Thy Christ, and may obtain eternal life, Thou, O Almighty God, being reconciled to them	(*f*) for fulfilment with the Holy Spirit and for the confirmation of faith truth.

V. *De Sacramentis.*	VI. *Rome.*
	The Anamnesis and Oblation.
Mindful, therefore, of His most glorious passion and resurrection from the dead, and His ascension into heaven, we offer to Thee this pure reasonable unbloody sacrifice, this holy bread and cup of eternal life.	*Unde et memores.* Wherefore, O LORD, we Thy servants but also Thy holy people, mindful of the blessed passion of the same CHRIST Thy SON our LORD, His Resurrection from the dead, and also His glorious ascension into heaven, offer unto Thy Most Excellent Majesty, of Thy gifts and favours, a pure Sacrifice, a holy Sacrifice, an immaculate Sacrifice, the Holy Bread of eternal life, and the chalice of everlasting salvation.
	Pro-Epiclesis.
and we ask	*Supra quae.* Upon which vouchsafe to look with a favourable and gracious countenance, and to accept them, as Thou wast pleased to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the Sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and [the holy sacrifice and spotless host [1]] which Thy high priest Melchisedek offered unto Thee.
	Supplices Te rogamus.
and pray that Thou wouldest receive this oblation on high by the hands of Thy angels as Thou wast pleased to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high priest Melchisedek offered unto Thee	We most humbly beseech Thee, Almighty GOD, command these things to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel to Thine altar on high in the sight of Thy Divine Majesty (*e*) that as many of us who by participation at this altar shall receive the Most Sacred BODY and BLOOD of Thy SON (*f*) may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same CHRIST our LORD
	Compare Oblation in *Syrian S. Chrysostom.* We beseech Thee . . that this oblation . . may be received in the presence of Thy Majesty, upon Thy spiritual altar, which is higher than the heavens, in the dwelling place of angels among the congregation of saints, in the place of Thy Divine presence, in the transcendent dwelling of Thy secre place.
	Memento etiam Domine.[2] Be mindful O LORD, of Thy servants and handmaidens. [Here follows a third set of intercessions] who are gone before us with the sign of faith and sleep in the sleep of peace, etc.
None	*Nobis quoque peccatoribus.* And to us sinners, Thy servants, hoping in the multitude of Thy mercies vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with Thy holy apostles and martyrs with John, etc. [Here follows a fourth set of intercessions.] and all Thy saints . . . Ascription

N.B.—Only the essential words are here quoted; for full text see Linton; for I, p. 31; for II, p. 38; for III, pp. 89 and 90; for IV, pp. 85, 86; for V, p. 127, and for VI, pp. 125, 126.

[1] Added by Leo I about 450.

[2] Does not appear before the ninth century.

De Sacramentis and, through it, *Rome*, in so far as the adoption of preliminary prayers is concerned.

Now we find in *De Sacramentis* (400)—50 years after *Serapion*—a preliminary pro-epiclesis ("Make for us") which looks like a condensation of the ideas contained in Serapion's preliminary Epiclesis and Oblation. We note also that the main Oblation in *De Sacramentis* (which comes in the usual place after the Anamnesis) contains the expression "reasonable and unbloody sacrifice," which occurs in the preliminary Oblation of S. Mark, and in other rites.[1] These rites also agree in making no mention of the Holy Spirit.

If we look more closely at *De Sacramentis*, where we might expect an Epiclesis, we notice the duplicate words "ask and pray," which suggest that perhaps something has dropped out between them.[2] Is it possible that an Epiclesis of some sort came in here? and may it have been, like that of *Serapion*, of the Word?[3] We also note that *De Sacramentis* contains only one ingredient of an Epiclesis (*c*) and that this is in its preliminary prayers.

Dr. Fortescue[4] quotes Probst as supposing that "it was S. Damasus (366–384) who radically changed the Roman liturgy," and that he "introduced variable collects . . . even modifications of the Canon itself (*Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*), so as to express the ideas of the various days in these."[5] But he admits that Mr. Edmund Bishop, the greatest of all recent liturgiologists, disapproves altogether of the German school (of whom Probst was the pioneer) on this question.

Now Serapion's episcopate was from 340 to 360. Both Serapion and Damasus lived, therefore, after the Arian controversy had been settled at Nicaea in 325 and before the Macedonian heresy had reached its height. Mr. Tyrer says that "Serapion's Consecratory Prayer was *his own composition*, as is shown by his name being attached to it."[6] And he thinks that his "intense devotion to the Godhead of our Lord, combined, it may be, with a somewhat hazy view of the personality and work of the Holy Ghost, may easily have led him to compose an Invocation specially intended to emphasise the part taken in the Eucharist by the Second Person of the Trinity." This exaggerated view, heightened no doubt by the discussions at Nicaea, and the condemnation there of Arius, would possibly lose force as time passed, and as the doctrine of the Divinity and

[1] Srawley, p. 171.
[2] But this is pure conjecture. Such repetition occurs in other liturgies, see Linton, p. 90.
[3] As in the Ambrosian, see p. 107.
[4] p. 142.
[5] But Probst gives no facts.
[6] Tyrer, p. 34.

work of the Holy Spirit received closer attention. Certainly it would have been considerably modified by the letters on this subject which S. Athanasius sent to him from his exile between 356 and 362. These letters are believed to have been written not earlier than 358. Serapion's episcopate terminated in 360. His prayer book does not seem to have been used beyond his own diocese and neighbourhood. The Macedonian controversy lasted till 381, when Macedonius was condemned by the first council of Constantinople, which also added to the creed of Nicaea the articles concerning the Holy Ghost as we now have them.

In the meantime Damasus may have been influenced by what Serapion had written. At any rate he lived at a time when the minds of churchmen were strongly moved by the Nicaean judgment, and before that of Constantinople had been given. If an Epiclesis of the Word was introduced (as some authorities believe) into the Roman anaphora, *this* was the most likely time, and the other changes then made in it gave the Pope his opportunity of doing it. We have noticed the similarity between *De Sacramentis* and *Serapion*. Is it possible that Damasus may have inserted here an Epiclesis of the Word, either as a new feature, or in place of a form similar to that in *Ap. Trad.*, which at this period would be generally considered too vague? We do know that he made changes, but not what they were; it is all conjecture.

But we do know that Leo I (440–461) added the words "the holy sacrifice and spotless host" to *Supra Quae* to describe the sacrifice of Melchisedek, and again the opportunity came to make a change. There is a tradition that he destroyed the Epiclesis of the Word, and restored the earlier one of the Holy Spirit. And this, too, was most likely to take place *after* the council of Constantinople. Gelasius I (492–496) seems to know of its existence and writes: "How shall the heavenly Spirit, being invoked, come to the consecration of the Divine mystery," etc.[1] Gregory I removed all trace of an Epiclesis owing to the growing belief that the repetition of Christ's words and acts at the Institution constitutes a consecration, and that, therefore, any subsequent prayer is superfluous.

The following table of dates will help to make the matter clear:—

Apostolic Tradition	origin	225	Contain an Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit.
Adai and Mari	lost	?	
Apostolic Constitutions	in	375	
S. James' Liturgy	remote	?	
S. Mark's Liturgy	antiquity	?	

[1] Fortescue, pp. 405, 406; Srawley, p. 185.

Council of Nicaea	325	Affirms the divinity of the WORD.
S. Cyril's catechesis	348	Testifies to the Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT.
Serapion's episcopate	340–360	Introduces an Epiclesis of the WORD.
Serapion's prayer book	about 350	Epiclesis of the WORD.
Letters from Athanasius to Serapion	358	
Peter of Alexandria	373	Testifies to the use of an Epiclesis.
Damasus' pontificate	366–384	Supposed to have substituted an Epiclesis of the WORD.
Council of Constantinople	381	Affirms the Divinity and work of the HOLY SPIRIT.
De Sacramentis	? 400	
Leo I	440–461	Supposed to have reverted to the Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT.
Gelasius I	492–496	Testifies to the Epiclesis of the HOLY SPIRIT.
Gregory I	590–604	Removed all Epiclesis.

But attractive as this reconstruction is, we must not forget that it is only speculation resting upon uncertain tradition. Beyond one vague statement of Gelasius—who may not have been then thinking of an Epiclesis—there is no foundation in fact.[1]

Before we leave *De Sacramentis* we should note two features of the last prayer.

The idea of the offering being received in heaven and carried thither by the ministry of the angels occurs here in the Oblation. It recurs constantly in Eastern rites, but not usually in this position, nor in the same way. Similar prayers are found in the Great Intercession in the liturgies of *S. Mark*[2] and the *Coptic Jacobites*, in the diaconal litany in *S. James* and *S. Chrysostom*, but in *Syrian S. Chrysostom*[3] it comes in the Oblation, as it does here, but the oblation is not said to be carried by the angels, but to be received there by GOD with Whom they dwell.[4] In *A.C.* it comes in the deacon's litany, and the prayer is "that the good GOD may receive it by the ministry of His CHRIST on His heavenly altar for an odour of sweetness."[5]

Dr. Fortescue quotes[6] Cardinal Bellarmine as saying: "We admit that it would be most absurd to say that the BODY of CHRIST should now first be taken bodily into heaven by angels." He adds: "and he tries to evade the difficulty by explaining the 'haec' that are to be taken to GOD's high altar as our prayers. That is not possible. 'Haec' are certainly the oblata." This points to an earlier use of this prayer, to a time when "these

[1] See Srawley, pp. 185 f. [2] *ib.*, p. 171. [3] Linton, p. 47.
[4] See table on p. 115 above. [5] Fortescue, p. 350. [6] *ib.*, p. 353.

things" referred to the oblation of bread and wine, the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual sacrifice, which could be carried (if that were needed) by an angel. This is further evidence of the antiquity of this prayer and that it was used elsewhere than in the Canon.

He also traces the reference to Melchisedek to the time of Damasus (366–384) and finds close parallels to it in *A.C.*, *S. James*, *S. Basil* and elsewhere.[1] Originally this prayer was perhaps used at the Offertory, for in its Alexandrian form it includes the incense of Zacharias and the alms of Cornelius.[1] It will be noticed that this reference and the preceding one to the angels stand in the reverse order in the Roman Canon. Fortescue writes:[2] "Both prayers seem to be fragments of very early forms, though they were apparently placed in their present position later, at the re-arrangement of the Roman Canon."

[1] Fortescue, p. 349. [2] *ib.*, p. 348.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

THE PRESENT ROMAN CANON

Now let us compare *De Sacramentis* and the present Canon more closely. We note, first, that all the essentials but (*b*) are present, though they are out of place; and that (*c*) is unsatisfactory, as it must always be where (*b*) is missing. Certainly (*c*) is missing in *Ap. Trad.*, but it is implied by (*b*).

Next, we note that the preliminary pro-epiclesis of *De Sacramentis* is expanded in *Quam oblationem* into a semblance of a preliminary epiclesis with the essential words omitted. But it is really only a prayer for the hallowing of the offering made in *Hanc igitur*, which is prefixed thereto, as in *S. Mark* and *Serapion*. Before this again is placed *Te igitur* (also as in *Serapion*), another combined preliminary oblation ("accept") and preliminary pro-epiclesis ("bless"), couched in the most vague terms, and referring apparently to the offering of bread and wine. Thus both *Hanc igitur* (omitting the Leonine addition) and *Te igitur* (omitting the intercessions of *Memento Domine* and *Communicantes*) correspond to, respectively, the preliminary oblations of *S. Mark* and *Serapion*, and to the preliminary pro-epiclesis of Serapion. Though they are couched in quite different language, *the import is the same, and they occupy similar places*. Surely this is no mere coincidence. Where did these two prayers come from?

Suggested Possible Reconstructions.—Is it not possible that Rome—like the rest of the West—had a variable anaphora? If so, there would be a number of forms of oblation, deprecation, etc. May not *Te igitur*, *Hanc igitur*, and *Quam oblationem* be survivals of early oral forms of oblation—or possibly deprecation—which were used in the normal position after the Anamnesis and before an Epiclesis? If so, is it not likely that, when the Canon was stabilised and the idea of invocation was overshadowed by that of oblation, the three most favoured of these forms were preserved and placed (after the Egyptian pattern) before the Commemoration? I find, since writing the above, that Mr. Wyatt has arrived at much the same conclusion by a different road. He

shows[1] that if *Te igitur*, *Hanc igitur*, *Quam oblationem* (and four intercessory clauses) are taken out of the Canon, it is the same in substance as the Mozarabic and Gallican Anaphoras. He finds[2] *Quam oblationem* and *Hanc igitur* conjoined in an eleventh century missal, the latter used as an offertory prayer in the thirteenth century, and as an intercessory prayer in two early Roman Sacramentaries. And he gives[3] instances of both of them, and of *Te igitur*, being used in the Mozarabic liturgy in substance, and of *Te igitur* in a tenth century Gregorian MS., *all of them as Post Pridie prayers*, that is, they come after the Commemoration and the Anamnesis. He concludes thus: "These latter examples suggest that *Te igitur* was formerly part of an Epiclesis prayer; and perhaps *Hanc igitur* also before it was an offertory prayer or an intercession. At any rate, it seems clear that several sections of the Canon, which are now consecutive, were formerly duplicates really belonging to the same liturgical position."

Dr. Fortescue[4] quotes Dr. Buchwald's reconstruction of the Roman Epiclesis (from Leo I to Gregory I)thus:—

> *Te igitur.*—"We, therefore, humbly pray and beseech Thee, most merciful FATHER, through JESUS CHRIST Thy SON, that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these unspotted sacrifices."
>
> *Supra quae.*—"Upon which (vouchsafe to) look with a favourable and gracious countenance (and vouchsafe to send Thy HOLY SPIRIT that He may make the bread the BODY and the wine the BLOOD of Thy Only Begotten SON)."
>
> *Ut quotquot sacrosanctum.*—"That as many as shall receive the most sacred BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace." This Epiclesis came in the usual place after the Anamnesis.

He also quotes Dom Cagin, O.S.B., who thinks that *Te igitur* was once either a "Collectio post nomina," following the diptychs before the Preface, or more probably, one form of the Epiclesis.[5]

These clauses, then, may be survivals of early oral Oblations (or, perhaps, Deprecations) as follows:—

Anamnesis.—"Wherefore, O LORD, we Thy servants but also Thy holy people, mindful of the blessed passion of the same CHRIST, Thy SON, our LORD, His resurrection from the dead, and also His glorious ascension into heaven."

Oblation.—"Offer unto Thy most excellent Majesty of Thy gifts and favours." (From *Ap. Trad.*—"this bread and this cup.")

[1] *The Eucharistic Prayer*, p. 40. [2] pp. 45, 46. [3] pp. 50, 51.
[4] Fortescue, p. 152. [5] *ib.*, p. 144.

Deprecation.

I. *Te igitur.*	II. *Hanç igitur.*	III. *Quam oblationem.*	IV. *Supra quae.*
And we humbly pray and beseech Thee, therefore, most merciful FATHER, through JESUS CHRIST Thy SON our LORD, that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to accept and bless these gifts and we beseech Thee to	And we beseech Thee, therefore, O LORD, through CHRIST our LORD, that Thou wouldest graciously accept this oblation of our service, as also of Thy whole family (and to)	Which obligation we beseech Thee, O GOD, vouchsafe to make blessed, approved ratified, reasonable and acceptable (possibly from Serapion, with an Invocation of the WORD)	Upon which vouchsafe to look with a favourable and gracious countenance and to accept them as Thou wast pleased to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, etc. etc. (and to)

(From *Ap. Trad.*)

Send Thy HOLY SPIRIT upon this oblation of Thy Church (or upon it).

Quam oblationem.—That it may become to us the BODY and BLOOD of Thy most Beloved SON JESUS CHRIST our LORD.

Supplices Te rogamus.—We humbly pray that as many of us as by participation at this altar shall receive the most sacred BODY and BLOOD of Thy SON may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace.

Memento etiam.—Remember also, O LORD, etc.

Nobis quoque.—To us sinners also, etc.

Per quem.—By whom, O LORD, etc.

Per Ipsum.—Through Him, etc.

Preceptis.—The LORD's prayer.

This would be, at least, intelligible and orderly, but it is not necessarily Roman. Of course, this reconstruction is altogether in the realm of conjecture. There is not an atom of direct evidence to support it. But it is only one of many theories that have been suggested by others—most of them very learned men—Dr. Fortescue quotes nine of them (pp. 140–171). They differ considerably, as must be the case where documentary evidence is scanty.[1] But as regards the Epiclesis, all we certainly know is that Gelasius I seems to speak of it,[2] and that *Ap. Trad.* included it, that it disappeared about the time of Gregory I, since whose

[1] To gain a fair knowledge of the origin of the Roman Canon a study of this book is essential.

[2] Srawley, p. 185.

days the Canon has been without an Epiclesis, and has remained substantially unchanged.

As we have seen, the Canon is altogether out of proportion, ill-balanced and top-heavy with Oblation. And the main Oblation is not the primitive one of bread and wine, the divinely appointed memorial of CHRIST's sacrifice on the Cross; rather the Oblation in *Unde et memores* is now taken to be the "immaculate sacrifice" of our Blessed LORD, who is the Bread of life.

We must be content to leave the question undecided. But whatever the original form of the Canon was, its present one is far from satisfactory. It is illogical, it lacks sequence, it repeats some essentials and yet it is lacking in others. Dr. Fortescue writes: "The conclusion of this chapter is chiefly regret that we have no certainty about the origin of our Canon."[1] And Mr. Wyatt: "The Roman Canon, as it exists to-day, is far from being a perfect model for our revision purposes in itself, as regards either intelligibility or logical coherence and sequence."[2]

We have already seen that the central prayers of the Canon contain no clear expression of any "moment" of consecration. Nor is there any such from end to end of the Canon, if it be read in its natural meaning. The Verbal Theory alone has read such a moment into it. And later rubrics and decisions have confirmed it. But in itself the Canon neither contains nor teaches it. With this Fortescue agrees. He writes: "The whole consecration-prayer is one thing . . . although the prayer takes time to say and GOD grants what we ask at one instant, not necessarily the last instant of the prayer. So in all rites constantly people still ask for what, presumably, they have already received. Our baptism and ordination services furnish obvious parallel examples. The Epiclesis is surely also to be explained in this way. . . . It is still righter to conceive the Canon as one prayer. Consecration is the answer to that one prayer. It takes place no doubt at the words of institution, but it is the effect of the whole prayer. There is no sequence of time with GOD."[3]

The idea of a momentary act on GOD's part brought with it, quite naturally, acts of adoration—elevation (not as in the East at the Oblation, to signify an act of offering, but to incite worship at a specified moment), genuflexion, the ringing of a bell, and censing the Blessed Sacrament. Dr. Fortescue says that the first "is a late mediaeval ceremony. Till about the twelfth century there is no trace of it. The Canon was said straight through." The second came later on. "The genuflexion did

[1] Fortescue, p. 171. [2] *Euch. Prayer*, p. 12.
[3] Fortescue, p. 347.

not become part of the rite, at any rate officially, till it was commanded in the missal of 1570." The third appeared about 1115. The fourth " is found first . . . in the thirteenth century." [1] " It is true," he writes, " that this mediaeval ceremony of the elevation has tended to become a new centre of gravity for the Mass. It is possible to exaggerate its importance. A rite unknown till the twelfth century cannot be of first importance in any liturgy. We must teach our people that the essence of the Mass is not the elevation, but consecration and communion." [2]

All Eastern Anaphoras are said right through uninterrupted, at the Epiclesis or elsewhere, by acts of adoration.

[1] Fortescue, pp. 338–344. [2] *ib.*, p. 345.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

THE ANGLICAN ANAPHORAS

(1) *Cranmer's Qualifications and Limitations.*—Such was the Western theory and practice which confronted Archbishop Cranmer (1489–1556) when he was called upon to produce, at short notice, a reformation of the Gregorian Canon. The wonder is, not that he did not do better, but that he did so well, with the material he had to his hand.

It is the fashion to-day to belittle his scholarship. But those who make such a charge can have but scant knowledge of him. The late Rev. Edward Burbidge in his *Liturgies and Offices of the Church* (1885) throws much light upon the extraordinary range of his reading, and on his deep learning. In the preface he describes the list of books in Cranmer's library, which he prints. Cranmer was an omnivorous reader; his industry and his power of assimilation were enormous. There can be no doubt that he had the Byzantine liturgies as well as the Gallican and Mozarabic ones to draw upon, and it is clear that he made good use of them all. But it is improbable that he had those of S. James and S. Mark, or other Eastern and Egyptian ones.

(2) *The Anaphora of the* 1549 *Prayer Book.*—In the Anaphora of the first book of Edward VI a very worthy and successful attempt was made to restore a true balance, and this is the more surprising in that it was more or less a revision of the existing Canon. *Te igitur* and the intercessions (now brought together) became the prayer for the whole Church (but it was kept in the Roman position after the Sanctus), a new prayer of great beauty (which has formed the basis of all subsequent forms of "the Prayer of Consecration") was composed to take the place of *Hanc igitur*, and *Quam oblationem* was turned into a real (though preliminary) Epiclesis. Then follow (1) Commemoration, (2) Oblation, (3) Anamnesis, (4) Plea, (5) Intercession and Self-Oblation, (6) Worthy Participation, (7) Deprecation. It is a pity that the logical order which these take in the liturgy of *S. James* was not adopted—viz., (1) Commemoration, (2) Anamnesis, (3) Oblation, (4) Deprecation and Plea, (5) Epiclesis

and Worthy Participation, (6) Intercessions—and that Self Oblation was not deferred until after Communion.[1] It is here introduced into the Anaphora for the first time. The prayer of *Rome* and *De Sacramentis* for the intervention of angels is retained. It is placed in the Roman position and used in the Roman way, not as in the Syrian oblation. But no human anaphora is faultless. This one misses no essential. It is a marvellous revision of one that is lamentably defective and yet over-weighted. It restores a perfect balance. It is most beautifully expressed, and full of devotion. And it stands as a noble monument to Cranmer's master mind, and to his constructive ability.

(3) *Its Preliminary Epiclesis* is as follows:—

(*a*) Hear us, O merciful FATHER, we beseech Thee,
(*b*) and with Thy HOLY SPIRIT and word vouchsafe to
(*c*) bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine,
(*e*) that they may be unto us
(*d*) the BODY and BLOOD of Thy most dearly beloved SON, JESUS CHRIST.
(*f*) (deferred to the end of the anaphora) be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with Thy SON JESUS CHRIST, that He may dwell in them, and they in Him.

We note that it contains all the six essentials of an Epiclesis, though (*f*) is delayed till the prayer for Worthy Participation. And it is a *real* Epiclesis, which *Quam oblationem* was *not*, though it is placed in a like position. It is like the Egyptian forms in that it is preliminary, but unlike them in having no main Epiclesis after the Oblation and Deprecation.

In form it is a combination of Eastern and Western ideas; it asks for the blessing of the HOLY SPIRIT, but it relies also upon our LORD's words of administration. It is in this respect unique. The first half seems to be taken from the Epiclesis of S. Basil and the rest from *Quam oblationem*. It could not have been derived from Serapion—for his prayer book was then lost, and has been rediscovered only recently—and therefore "word" cannot mean "LOGOS" but the spoken "*word*" *of our* LORD. And it is very unlikely—though, of course, possible from his wide reading—that Cranmer would know of the possible oscillations between "HOLY SPIRIT" and "LOGOS" in the Roman Canon from the fourth to the sixth century. It is, indeed, possible that he himself wished for a straightforward Epiclesis of the HOLY

[1] Linton, pp. 129, 130 n.

Spirit, such as *S. Chrysostom* and *S. Basil* have, but that he was overruled by the other revising bishops, who were steeped in the Western theory, and that they insisted upon reliance, at least in part, on our Lord's words of administration, by adding " word " after " Holy Spirit." But it is more probable that Cranmer's weak and vacillating character itself suggested the more " comprehensive " form.

Anyhow, this fatal tendency to compromise, which first appeared then, and which has dogged the footsteps of the English Church ever since, has had disastrous results. It led to the retention of this expression in both Scottish and American revisions.[1]

The preliminary position, too, was most unfortunate. Probably two considerations decided this point—one, that if the " word " is really consecratory the petition for the Holy Spirit's advent should precede it; the other, the position of *Quam oblationem*. It was not then supposed, but it is now believed, that *Quam oblationem* contains words which originally belonged to *Supra quae*, which is the remnant of a true Epiclesis in the right place. That the former of these considerations weighed with the revisers is shown by their ordering that the words of Administration *alone* should be used when a second consecration became necessary. This error has been corrected in the Scottish and American rites, and in the English alternative liturgy.

This preliminary Epiclesis is, therefore, unsatisfactory and incorrect both as regards form and place.

[1] For " With Thy word and Holy Spirit," the Scottish 1929 Revision has a quite different phrasing: " send Thy Holy Spirit . . .," omitting all reference to the " word."

CHAPTER XXV

THE EPICLESIS (*continued*)

REVISIONS OF THE 1549 RITE

(1) *English* (1552–1662).—In the second Prayer Book of Edward VI and later revisions of it, the Anaphora was scattered to the four winds, apparently with the idea of getting rid of all idea of oblation, with which the Gregorian Canon was overweighted. The balance of 1549 was destroyed. The revolt against the Roman Mass was so strong that what was magnified in it was now put out of sight. All sense of proportion was lost, and our LORD's command to "Do this" was disregarded. And if there was to be no oblation then it was unnecessary to invoke the HOLY SPIRIT to hallow it. Consequently the preliminary Epiclesis of 1549 was turned into what was *intended* to be a prayer for worthy participation by the communicants. And yet in the overruling providence of GOD it *is* a *quasi*-epiclesis, not of the HOLY SPIRIT, nor of the LOGOS, but that the FATHER would in His own way fulfil the SON's promise. It is as follows:—

(*a*) Hear us, O merciful FATHER, we most humbly beseech Thee,
(*e*) and grant that we [part of a preliminary Anamnesis inserted here] may be partakers of
(*d*) His most blessed BODY and BLOOD.

[Then follows the Commemoration, and Communion precedes the LORD's prayer, which again is followed by a mixture of Oblation, Intercession, Self Oblation, Worthy Participation, and Deprecation.]

It has but three of the six ingredients. It is not what we desire, it is not what we should have; but we may safely use it because our FATHER knows His children's needs, and is "wont to give us more than either we desire or deserve"—"more than we can ask or think." So while we pray and work for something better, truer, more scriptural, more catholic, there is no need to interpolate prayers from a rite which is more imperfect than our own.

But we *should* strive to alter it. For it is misleading as well as defective in form. It was designed—not by Cranmer, who knew better, but by those who forced his hand—with the purpose of denying any consecration whatever. It is so framed that it may be said to imply a consecration or to deny one. It does not ask for one. So it opens wide the door to those who hold that the "ordinance" is a mere act of pious recollection, perhaps an "agape," certainly neither a primitive Eucharist nor a Communion of the LORD'S BODY and BLOOD.

Again it goes perilously near the Lutheran idea of Consubstantiation.

On the other hand, this preliminary pro-epiclesis is objectionable in position as well as in form. Just because it is less direct than *Quam oblationem*, and because it is preliminary, it throws the whole emphasis of consecration on our LORD'S words, and it therefore makes the present English rite more Roman than the Roman Canon. Can the English Church hope for reunion with the East, or, indeed, with any other part of the Church, until she can say definitely what she really does mean?

(2) *Scottish and American.*—In the Scottish and American rites of 1637 and 1790 we find that the balance of the Anaphora of 1549 has been restored, and that the constituent parts follow in much the same order. But there are two marked and fundamental divergences. The preliminary Epiclesis and the reference to the angels in the Deprecation have both been dropped, and instead of the former a real Epiclesis—unfortunately of the HOLY SPIRIT *and* word—has been placed in the right position after the Oblation.

The Scottish Epiclesis of 1637 is as follows:—

(*a*) And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful FATHER, to hear us, and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe
(*c*) to bless and sanctify
(*b*) with Thy word and HOLY SPIRIT these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become
(*d*) the BODY and BLOOD of Thy most dearly beloved SON
(*e*) (missing but implied in the Intercession)
(*f*) (deferred to the end of the Anaphora as in 1549 and expressed in the same words).

The American Epiclesis is the same as the Scottish as far as (*b*) ". . . bread and wine." The following is then substituted in place of the remainder:—"That we," etc.

(*e*) (as in 1552) "may be partakers of
(*d*) His most blessed BODY and BLOOD."

I

It is a pity that the definite Scottish conclusion should have been displaced by the indefinite English one.

But even the superior Scottish form never gave complete satisfaction, and so in 1911 that Church adopted the following:

(*a*) And humbly praying that it may be unto us according to Thy word, we Thine unworthy servants beseech Thee, most merciful FATHER, to hear us,
(*b*) and to send Thy HOLY SPIRIT upon us and upon These Thy creatures of bread and wine,
(*c*) that being blessed and hallowed by His life-giving power,
(*d*) they may become the BODY and BLOOD of Thy most dearly beloved SON,
(*e*) to the end that all who shall receive the same
(*f*) may be sanctified both in body and soul, and preserved unto everlasting life.

This is an Epiclesis solely of the HOLY SPIRIT, and in it all six points have been restored. It is remarkably full and well balanced, and yet terse—excepting perhaps in (*a*)—one of the most devotional in any Northern Anaphora. In 1929 (*a*) was shortened to: "And we Thine unworthy servants beseech Thee, most merciful Father, to hear us."

(3) *Non-Jurors* 1718.—In the meantime the Non-Jurors, finding themselves then free from all legal restrictions, framed an entirely new Anaphora, based on that of S. James. It is well balanced, very beautiful, most scriptural and catholic, and quite free from Western peculiarities. The Thank-offering, the Commemoration, the Anamnesis, the Oblation and the Epiclesis follow one another in their ancient and logical order. The Epiclesis is:—

(*a*) O Thou self-sufficient GOD (in Oblation) . . .
(*b*) And send down Thine HOLY SPIRIT, the witness of the passion of our LORD JESUS, upon this sacrifice,
(*c*) (missing, but implied by (*d*) as it is in *Ap. Trad.* and *A.C.*)
(*d*) that He may make this bread the BODY of Thy CHRIST, and this cup the BLOOD of Thy CHRIST;
(*e*) that they who are partakers thereof,
(*f*) may be confirmed in godliness, may obtain remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his snares, may be replenished with the HOLY GHOST, may be made worthy of Thy CHRIST, and may obtain everlasting life, Thou, O LORD Almighty, being reconciled unto them.

The whole of this Anaphora is most devotional. It is probably too long for the hurry of to-day. But it could be shortened without spoiling its symmetry. It is a pity that those who are so loud in their praises of Cosin and his saintly fellow bishops, and of their writings, do not take this Anaphora for their model instead of looking towards the defective Roman Canon.

(4) *South African (Revised)* 1924.[1]—Considering what a splendid position this Province is in as regards autonomy and catholic teaching, its Anaphora is disappointing. But it is a great improvement on the English rite which, doubtless, it will gradually supersede.

In this revision the English preliminary pro-epiclesis has been retained. It is followed in the ancient order by the Commemoration, the Anamnesis, and the Oblation. All the remaining parts of an Anaphora follow, though slightly out of place. The Deprecation and Plea do not lead up to the Epiclesis, but follow it—the latter immediately, the former not till the end of the Anaphora. And Self-oblation, which in the previous rite followed communion, is here brought forward into the Anaphora, and stands as it did for the first time in 1549.

The main Epiclesis is as follows:—

(*a*) (to be found in the Anamnesis) O LORD and heavenly FATHER
(*b*) We humbly beseech Thee to pour Thy HOLY SPIRIT upon us
(*c*) and upon these Thy gifts,
(*e*) that all who are partakers of this holy communion may worthily receive
(*d*) the most precious BODY and BLOOD of Thy SON,
(*f*) and be filled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction.

(*b*) is definite and of the HOLY GHOST alone, (*c*) is implied, (*e*) and (*f*) are expressed clearly, (*d*) instead of a definite prayer that the HOLY SPIRIT—who has been invoked in (*b*) and (*c*)—will fulfil our LORD'S promise, *so that* grace may flow to His members, a prayer for worthy participation from the Scottish Anaphora—but which there comes later—has been substituted. It is practically a repetition of the (*e*) and (*d*) of the unsatisfactory preliminary pro-epiclesis, and so—otherwise than in the American Epiclesis—it is redundant. When (*d*) has been recast in different terms, this preliminary pro-epiclesis could well be dropped. In retaining both it and a main Epiclesis South Africa alone follows the bad example of Egypt and Rome. In Egypt the native liturgy of S. Mark has not been used since

[1] Finally accepted in 1929 as an alternative use.

1300, and Rome, if she ever had an Epiclesis, dropped it, and altered her preliminary one, with disastrous results to all Western and Northern Christianity.

Notwithstanding this criticism, this Epiclesis is a real one in the right position, a very great improvement in the worship of the Province, and an enrichment of its rite.

Nothing further need be said except that if any preliminary Epiclesis is retained—whether real (as in 1549) or virtual (as in 1662)—the usual Roman practices of elevation, genuflexion (or bowing), and bell ringing, when our LORD's words of administration are recited, as a sign that consecration has been consummated and as acts of adoration, must be allowed logically. They are quite mediaeval customs, which, as Fortescue shows, date from the twelfth century.[1] *But if a true Epiclesis be put in its rightful place*, as in the Scottish and American rites, *all reverence should be deferred* until after the end of the Anaphora and the LORD's Prayer.

[1] *The Mass*, pp. 337–345.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GREAT INTERCESSION AND THE LORD'S PRAYER

(1) *The Intercession.*—There are three places in which the Intercession may come: before, within, and after the Anaphora. Till recently it was generally thought that the central position, within the sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving and following the Epiclesis, was the most ancient one. Scudamore writes:[1]

"There can in truth be no time more apt for intercession than when that Sacrifice is lying on the Altar through which the Church pleads, as her Great Head hath Himself ordained, the all atoning merits of His Death and Passion on the Cross. Such was, in fact, at an early period, the avowed reason for the use of Intercessory prayer at this awful hour. Thus S. Cyril of Jerusalem:[2]—'Then after the Spiritual Sacrifice has been completed, the bloodless worship upon that Sacrifice of propitiation, we beseech GOD for the common peace of the Churches, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, for soldiers, for the sick, for the afflicted, and in a word we all implore Thee, and offer to Thee this Sacrifice on behalf of all needing help. Then we mention also those who have fallen asleep before us, first Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that through their prayers and intercessions GOD may accept our prayer. Then also on behalf of the holy Fathers, who have fallen asleep before us, and Bishops, and in a word, all who have gone to their rest.'"

The Intercession occupies this place in *S. James* (to which S. Cyril is here referring) and in the liturgies of the Antiochene group. The Far Eastern family put it between the Oblation and the Epiclesis, though it would seem that originally *A. and M.* placed it after the Kiss of Peace.[3] The Egyptian intercession came within the Anaphora, but before the Sanctus, and *De Sacramentis* seems to have had it here also.[4] The original Roman position is doubtful; the Benedictines think that the Intercession came at the Offertory, where the Gallican rite placed it, but the

[1] *Not. Euch.* p. 653.
[2] *Catech. Myst.* V. vi.
[3] Srawley, p. 212.
[4] Fortescue, p. 130.

German school think that it came within the Canon.[1] In the 1549 rite it occurs after the Sanctus, but in every revision but one it is placed at the Offertory. The Scottish rite alone has it after the Anaphora and before the LORD's prayer and Communion.

Mr. E. Bishop has now proved conclusively that originally the place of Intercession was outside and before the Anaphora and not in the course of it or after it.[2] He thinks that "we have in *Serapion* and *S. Mark* an intercession which, whether in regard to its manner of formulation or its position in the service, represents the earlier phase in the development of the Liturgy in Greek-speaking regions; that is the state of things up to the fourth century." He thinks that the position for which S. Cyril pleads is a fourth century development, the result of the ideas of "the Presence" and "the Sacrifice" which had reached their extreme limit at that period. Besides the good precedents for removing the Intercession to the Offertory, there is also a sufficient and practical reason. In the West and North it is the custom for the people to kneel during the whole of the Anaphora. Not so in the East. There they stand, prostrating themselves at the most solemn moments. In the Scottish rite, in which the prayer for the Church follows the Anaphora, and the Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words succeed it, and these again are followed by Communion, the people are kept on their knees, without a break, for a very long time. In hot climates this would be very exhausting, it would spoil devotion, and might even keep weak persons away from this Divine Service of joy and gladness. Even the English rite is very trying in an Australian summer, and especially on Christmas Day. In some Australian churches the people stand from the Sursum Corda to the end of the Sanctus. The change of posture is short, but it brings relief. It is suggested that in a future revision the main intercession should remain at the Offertory, and that all our petitions should be summed up in three short paragraphs for the whole Church, for the departed, and for the living, to be said, after the Epiclesis, as an act of love before we make our communion.

Now when in the 1549 rite Cranmer moved the bulk of the Intercession backward, he placed, after the Oblation and Plea, what is, in effect, a condensed essence of Intercession, in the following words: "most humbly beseeching Thee to grant that by the merits and death of Thy SON JESUS CHRIST, and through faith in His blood, *we, and all Thy whole Church*, may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His passion." This beautiful prayer has found a place in every revision.

[1] Fortescue, p. 170. [2] Srawley, pp. 212–213.

It is a most significant fact that in *Ap. Trad.* and *A. and M.* the only prayers between the Epiclesis and the Communion are for the communicants—that they may make a worthy communion, that they may receive therein all heavenly grace and benediction, and that they may be united to one another and to "all those who have been well pleasing" unto GOD.[1]

(2) *The LORD'S Prayer.*—Dr. Srawley shows that there is no earlier documentary evidence for the use of the LORD'S prayer at the conclusion of the Anaphora than the Liturgy of S. James and the Catecheses of S. Cyril, who speaks of it and "expounds it at length."[2] But there is a persistent tradition that the LORD'S prayer was so used, and this tradition was probably the basis for S. Gregory's remarkable statement: "We say the LORD'S prayer immediately after the prayer (Canon), because it was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the host of the oblation by that prayer only." Such a statement stands alone. Certainly it would have been most unlikely for the early Church to disregard our LORD'S plain injunction: "After this manner pray ye":[3] "When ye pray, say."[4] The explanation of the omission of this Divine prayer from the earlier (and more fragmentary) liturgies probably lies in the obvious fact that it was so well known, and so frequently and universally used, that there was no need to quote it. It was probably said in the accustomed place as naturally as we now say, "Glory be to Thee, O LORD," before the Gospel, without rubrical direction. And may not this account also for other obvious omissions, as, *e.g.*, that of the account of the Institution from the Anaphora of Adai and Mari?[5] In all other Anaphoras of the same family it occurs in the place where there is a hiatus in this one.

We have noticed (p. 105) that in the Gallican rite "the Our FATHER was sung, as in the East, by the people as by the celebrant." By joining with him in this prayer they assent to, and take their part in, the whole Anaphora. They exercise their office, that of the lay-priesthood. They assert their right to be "a chosen Race, a royal Priesthood, a holy Nation, GOD'S own purchased people,"[6] by offering up their "spiritual sacrifice acceptable to GOD through JESUS CHRIST."[7]

[1] See p. 20. [2] p. 87. [3] S. Matt. vi. 9. [4] S. Luke xi. 2.
[5] Linton, p. 70. [6] 1 Pet. ii. 9. [7] *ib.* ii. 5.

PART IV

CHAPTER XXVII

PREPARATION

(1) *Fraction.*—In every rite but the Roman[1] and its Northern derivatives there is a prayer of the Fraction. Cranmer provided neither it nor any "manual acts." The latter were specified in 1662. The English position of the Fraction is unique and anomalous. As the Paschal lamb was offered and slain *before* it could be eaten, so the LAMB of GOD "gave His life a ransom for many"[2] *before* His BODY was broken on the Cross. Likewise the Church offers the Memorial of His passion which He ordained —that is she completes the Anaphora—before she breaks and distributes to His disciples the Bread of eternal life. The English rite perversely places Oblation *after* Fraction.

On the other hand, Rome, which breaks the bread in the original place at the end of the Anaphora, is guilty of an inconsistency. If the consecration is effected at the moment when the words of administration are uttered, the Fraction should take place then, or at least after genuflexion and elevation. By leaving Fraction until after the LORD's prayer is said she implies that the consecration is effected by the HOLY SPIRIT in answer to "the prayer" (Anaphora).

But England now places the Fraction *before these words are uttered.* And therefore, according to the Western theory, she breaks *unconsecrated* bread, which does not represent CHRIST's sacred BODY. Thus the symbolism of this symbolical act is utterly destroyed. Would it not be better and wiser to revert, in this detail also, to the practice of the undivided Church, and to break the Bread which has been offered, and hallowed by the HOLY SPIRIT? It would then remind us that the sinless BODY of the Son of Man was broken by our sins, and His precious BLOOD poured out for our redemption.

(2) *Commixture.*—This ancient ceremony is full of Evangelical teaching and is common to all liturgies but our own. It symbolises the return of CHRIST's human SPIRIT from the realms of the departed, its reunion with the uncorrupt BODY, and the

[1] Fortescue, p. 145.

[2] S. Matt. xx. 25; S. Mark x. 45.

Resurrection of both. It is not His dead Body, but His risen, glorified Body, which He gives us in Holy Communion. By the power of His risen life He lives in us. In it He ascended into heaven, and there eternally intercedes for us. He "was delivered for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification." [1]

(3) *Adoration.*—All Eastern liturgies have at this point their prayer of "intense Adoration." Western ones are barren of it (Agnus Dei is a Communion Prayer, not an act of adoration). To thank Christ, and to adore Him for His wonderful condescension in coming to be our spiritual food, is the natural expression of the penitent heart.

The "Song of the Children" to Christ as He entered Jerusalem and cleansed the temple occurs first in the *Didache*, then in *A.C.*, and then in *S. James*. And it is used for this purpose at this point. It does not appear in any Egyptian rite, but at this point in S. Mark the prayer of Intense Adoration ends with: "Receive the pure hymn, with Cherubim and Seraphim," etc. which looks as if some such hymn as this (but not the Ter-Sanctus, which is in the normal place) were originally sung in this rite (as well as in *S. James*) just before communion. In Eastern liturgies later than *S. James* and in all Western ones, this song of the children is tacked on to that of the angels, the Ter-Sanctus. How this came about it is not easy to understand. There is no connection between them.

(4) *Personal Preparation.*—In most liturgies, from *A.C.* onwards, a prayer of humble access, before the act of Communion, follows, and in some cases is joined to, the act of adoration. This is quite natural, most fitting. We give our welcome, we sing our Hosannas, and yet the holiest saint is conscious (and how much more so are we) of utter unworthiness to enter on the threshold of the presence of God all holy, still less to receive a Guest so ineffable.

In the Liturgy of S. James the priest says before communicating: "Lord our God, the Heavenly Bread, the Life of the world, I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and am not worthy to partake of Thy spotless Mysteries: but do Thou, who art a compassionate God, make me worthy by Thy grace to communicate without condemnation in the holy Body and precious Blood, for the remission of sins, and eternal life." [2]

The position of Cranmer's most devotional "Prayer of Humble Access," since he removed it from where it stood in the 1549 Book, has been a matter of great dissatisfaction. That it is awkwardly placed in the present English rite, in the midst of

[1] Rom. iv. 25.
[2] Neale and Littledale, p. 60.

the Anaphora, all agree. Scotland, America, and South Africa have restored it to its original position just before Communion. The English 1928 rite places it after the Comfortable Words and before the Anaphora. So long as a prayer for worthy participation follows the Epiclesis it does not really matter where this prayer is used (provided that it is not intruded into the Anaphora).

(5) It is to be wished that before our Communion *the Kiss of Peace* might be restored. It is an integral part of the Service, for it is based upon our LORD's words to the Twelve, after He had instituted the rite.[1] It is possible, indeed, that this mode of greeting was the usual custom of the Master and His disciples during His earthly life, and that Judas Iscariot basely abused it when he betrayed Him. It is, at least, certain that, from the very beginning of the Church, Christians recognised and greeted one another in this way. The day following S. Paul's last fateful visit to Jerusalem[2] he "saluted" James and his assembled presbyters. The same word is used here as in 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12, 13; Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Pet. v. 14. The formula is almost identical. "Greet" (the same word as salute quoted above) "ye one another with an holy kiss" is the exact expression used in *A.C.* and other Eastern liturgies by the deacon, after the bishop has said, "Let the peace of GOD be with you all," and the people have responded, "And with thy spirit." The Pax usually comes at the beginning of the "Prayer of the Faithful," after the Catechumens have been dismissed. Fortescue says[3] that Rome originally had it here too, till Innocent I removed it to its present place after the LORD's prayer and before Communion. Now that everyone attending the Eucharist is, at least, a *professing* Christian, this later place is appropriate.

[1] S. John xv. 12, 17. [2] Acts xxi. 18, 19. [3] p. 371.

CHAPTER XXVIII

COMMUNION AND POST-COMMUNION

(1) *Communion.*—At this supreme moment everything that is said or done should tend to fix the whole soul on CHRIST alone. The English rite allows its priests a wide latitude in interpolating into the liturgy hymns and other things which do not belong to it. These are mostly chosen with care, and are a help to devotion. But this liberty is not always wisely used.

But, as a rule, the ancient hymns of the Church should be used at this most solemn time. Agnus Dei, which is based on S. John Baptist's greeting of our LORD,[1] is the most usual. It is most suitable, and its use dates from the end of the seventh century.[2] An earlier one from the Mozarabic liturgy and used at Toledo is based on Ps. xxxiv. 8, 1, 22: "all interspersed with Alleluias."[3] Milan uses each Sunday a text from the day's Gospel. The oldest of all is the whole of Ps. xxxiv., used in this place in *A.C.* In *S. James'* liturgy between the Commixture and Humble Access the first half of Agnus Dei and Pss. xxiii, xxiv, cxiv, and cxvii are used.[4] In the Malabar rite, while the people communicate, the Deacon says:

> "Strengthen, O LORD, the hands which are stretched out to receive the Holy Thing: Vouchsafe that they may daily bring forth fruit to Thy Divinity: that they may be worthy of all things which they have sung to Thy praise within Thy sanctuary, and may ever laud Thee. Grant, moreover, my LORD, that the ears which have heard the voice of Thy songs, may never hear the voice of clamour and dispute. Grant also that the eyes which have seen Thy great love, may also behold Thy blessed hope; that the tongues which have sung the Sanctus may speak the truth. Grant that the feet that have walked in the church may walk in the region of light: that the bodies which have tasted of Thy living BODY may be restored in newness of life. On this congregation also, which adores Thy Divinity, let Thy aids be

[1] S. John i. 29.
[2] Fortescue, p. 387.
[3] *ib.* p. 386.
[4] Neale and Littledale, p. 59.

multiplied, and let Thy great love remain with us; and by Thee may we abound in the manifestation of Thy glory, and open a door to the prayers of all of us. We all then, who have drawn near by the gift of the grace of the HOLY GHOST, and to whom it has been vouchsafed to become fellow participators in the reception of these holy mysteries, most excellent, holy, divine and quickening, let us all praise and exult in GOD the Giver of them."

Drs. Neale and Littledale have this note concerning the phrase which ends with "blessed hope": "Notice this remarkable prayer, which has no parallel that I am aware of in any Eastern rite: there is nothing like it in the kindred Nestorian liturgies, nor in the mongrel Nestorian service of John of Bassora. It appears to me of the most remote antiquity." [1]

(2) *Thanksgiving.*—Thanksgiving for Communion is the invariable and concluding feature of every rite but the English one, in which it is optional, *i.e.*, it has been made an alternative to Oblation. The celebrant has to choose between an Anaphora with a misplaced Oblation, Intercession, and Deprecation, and a Communion devoid of Thanksgiving. It is not right for any Church to place its priests in such a difficulty.

To escape from this dilemma one of two expedients is usually tried: (*a*) supplementing the present bald rite by silently adding prayers taken from another source; (*b*) using both Post-Communion prayers publicly, as some bishops have recommended. Only a restoration of all the component parts of the liturgy to their right order will remedy this difficulty and overcome this evil.

(3) *Post-Communion Prayers.*—It would be well if the old Post-Communion collects were translated and adapted, so that each Eucharist would end, as well as begin, with the idea of the festival. But prayers added after thanksgiving should be used sparingly and discreetly, especially at an early, or week-day, celebration.

(4) *The Ascription.*—In every liturgy but one the Ascription comes, it would seem, at the end of the Anaphora. That single exception is the Liturgy of *S. Basil.* It is placed there after the Thanksgiving and before the Dismissal. There is something very fitting in this. If the Ascription *ends the offering* to GOD and if it is *placed here*, then it includes our communion, our thanksgiving, our vows, our special needs, all of which are received by our Great Intercessor, and presented on the Golden Altar, faultless in, and because of, His own merits, to His FATHER, and ours in Him.

[1] Neale and Littledale, p. 175.

(5) *The Ablutions.*—There seems to be no reason why the ablutions should not be taken (as in the Roman rite) immediately after communion whenever reservation has been made. This is doubtless the natural and original time. But where there is no reservation it is also natural that the consecrated species should remain until our prayers are ended, and for the reasons given in the last paragraph. So in the suggested liturgy that follows it is proposed to take them between the Ascription and the Blessing. This is a better place to take them than that in the English rite, which gives no directions about them, and which makes them a mere adjunct of the service.

The hymn usually sung during the Ablutions would be much more fitting before, than after, the Blessing, which *should be the final act.* This hymn should be of a devotional nature, and should refer to the Communion just made, and to the need for guarding the Divine Gift in the soul. " Gloria in excelsis " is not recommended for use [1] as ideal, but because so many souls associate it with their many communions, and would miss it sadly.

(6) *The Peace and the Blessing.*—The Dismissal in Anglican rites is a jewel of surpassing beauty. It is a monument of the genius of Cranmer, and it is his legacy of a rare inspiration. At one stroke of his pen he changed a mere dismissal (*Ite missa est*, " Go, it is the dismissal ") into a Divine Blessing.

[1] [In the Appendix, the approach of which has influenced these concluding pages.]

APPENDIX I

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR AN ANAPHORA

THE following suggestions are the result of long study and earnest prayer for light and wisdom. They are presented to brother priests in Australia and New Zealand for their prayerful study, in sincere humility and with much diffidence.

The following passage, in Bishop Dowden's *Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, may encourage many of us in this useful work. Bishop Cosin " had for many years [before 1661] been engaged in studies upon the Prayer Book, which, however little likely when he began his researches to be of any practical use, made him an authority of much weight when, so unexpectedly, the work of liturgical revision was undertaken after the Restoration. It is thus that not unfrequently in many departments of inquiry, the retired student rises in an emergency into the man of practical influence."

In order to give more freedom and elasticity to services rendered under the varied conditions of life in the city and in the bush, it has been suggested to me that both a full and a shortened rite should be provided. The former is intended for a large city church when sufficient time can be given to the due and reverent worship of the ETERNAL GOD, our Heavenly FATHER, allowing of a stately ceremonial. A shorter form, containing all that is essential, which can be reverently said in half an hour, is also given for use in the bush (where a priest must often travel long distances between services), or at an early week-day celebration in a city church, when the worshippers have but a short time to give before they hurry to their daily work.

The Invitation

Priest. THE [1] LORD be with you.

℟ And with thy spirit.

℣ [2] Lift up your hearts.

℟ We lift them up unto the LORD.

℣ [3] Let us give thanks unto our LORD GOD.

℟ It is meet and right so to do.

Preface

Priest. IT [4] is truly meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, [4] give thanks unto Thee, [5] Holy LORD, Almighty FATHER, Eternal GOD, [6] [for our creation, preservation, and all Thy good and perfect gifts.]

[1] Salutations are almost universal. Some are based on 2 Tim. iv. 22 and others on 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

[2] *Sursum Corda* is of Latin origin and probably comes from Africa, and is possibly derived from Lam. iii. 41. It is first found in *Ap. Trad.*, and was probably in use before 200.

[3] The keynote and motive of the Great Thanksgiving or "Eucharist," the best descriptive name of our LORD's own Service.

[4] In all Eastern Liturgies this Thanksgiving is very lengthy and elaborate. The benefits which we share with the heavenly host are usually enumerated before the *Sanctus*, those peculiar to mankind after it.

[5] In the Preface we now use are two mistranslations: "Very" should be "verily"; "holy" qualifies LORD, and "almighty" FATHER. "Eternal" is more rhythmical than "everlasting" here.

[6] It might be well to add to our Preface a few words from our "General Thanksgiving" to indicate that for which we give thanks and to repair the defect which we derive from the Roman rite.

N.B.—All words within square brackets throughout this Anaphora are intended for occasional and optional use.

The Angelic Hymn

THEREFORE with [1] Cherubim and Seraphim, with Angels and Archangels, and with all the {hosts / company} of heaven, we laud and magnify Thy glorious Name; evermore praising Thee, and saying:

The Ter-Sanctus

Priest and people. HOLY,[2] holy, holy, LORD GOD of hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory: Glory be to Thee, O LORD most high. Amen.

[1] In most Eastern liturgies the Cherubim and Seraphim are mentioned (as in *Te Deum*) as part of the heavenly host. See Isai. vi. 2–7; Ezek. i. 4–10, and x. 14, 15; Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21; and Rev. iv. 7–11.

[‖] The Ter-Sanctus does not appear in any liturgy before *A.C.* (375), though known to have existed much earlier.

Benedictus Qui or the Children's Hosanna has no connection with the Angelic Hymn. It appears first in *A.C.*, in which it comes immediately before the Communion. It is not found in any Egyptian rite.

The Commemoration of Redemption

YEA, all glory, praise, and [1] thanksgiving be unto Thee, Almighty [self-existent all-sufficient] GOD, our heavenly FATHER;

[2] *Full Rite.*	[3] *Short Rite.*
Who, infinite in wisdom, power	not
and love, didst not only bring	only
mankind into being that we might	for
know and love our Maker. But	all
when we had, through thankless-	the
ness and disobedience, fallen from	bles-
Thee, and had become corrupt	sings
by sin and stained by evil, Thou	of
didst not despise nor forsake our	this
race but didst preserve us by Thy	life,
love, and call us by Thy law, and	but
teach us by Thy prophets. And	chiefly
when the fulness of time was come	that

Thou didst, of Thy tender mercy, give Thine Only-Begotten SON to take our nature upon Him, that in [4] it He might fulfil all righteousness, and suffer death upon the cross for our redemption.

[1] Justin Martyr says that the Primitive Thanksgiving was very long. Though it is absent from *Ap. Trad.* it is very elaborate in *A.C.*, and it forms a notable feature in every Eastern rite. In the West it is reduced to a few words and in the English rite it reaches the vanishing point—only the commemoration of the Passion and of the Institution being made. This defect the Non-Jurors remedied in their liturgy of 1718. They condensed the Thanksgiving in *S. James*, itself a condensation of that in *A.C.* Even so it is too long for modern use.

[2] A further condensation of *Non-Jurors* is here proposed for the full rite.

[3] It is suggested that a few words from the "General Thanksgiving" be added in the shortened rite.

[4] S. Matt. iii. 15; S. John xvii. 4.

Ap. Trad.—"Who, fulfilling Thy will. . . ."

A.C.—"He Who was without flesh became flesh . . . fulfilled Thy will, and did finish the work Thou gavest Him to do. And when He had duly accomplished all these things. . . ."

S. James.—"Who, having descended from heaven, and having been made flesh of the Holy Ghost, and Mary the Virgin, and Mother of God, lived in fellowship with men, and accomplished all things for the salvation of our race."

The Commemoration of the Passion

WHO [1] made there (by His [2] own offering [3] of Himself once [4] offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, offering, and {at one ment [4] / reconciliation}, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in His holy gospel command us to continue, a perpetual Memorial [5] of that His precious death until His coming again:

[1] *A.C.*—" mindful, therefore, of those things He endured for us."

[2] S. John x. 17, 18.

Ap. Trad. and *Test.*—" voluntary passion."

The App.—" delivered of His own will to the passion."

S. James.—" voluntary death "; " surrendered Himself " (*Syr.*).

S. Mark.—" surrendered Himself for our sins."

S. Chrys.—" gave Himself up."

S. Basil.—" voluntary . . . and life-giving death."

[3] *Severus Ant.*—" When He left us a memorial of His saving passion and cross, He, the physician of our sins, offering an oblation of Himself for us." " Offering " is more intelligible than " oblation," which has passed out of ordinary use.

[4] " Atonement " (at-one-ment) is more readily understood than " satisfaction." Reconciliation is understood, but it is longer.

[5] " Memorial."—See pp. 39–41.

The Commemoration of the Institution

FOR [1] in the same night that He was betrayed He took [2] bread [and looking [3] up to heaven] and giving thanks He blessed, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying : Take eat THIS IS MY BODY WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU. Do this for a {memorial [4] / remembrance} of ME.

[1] The Eastern expression. Used also in the ancient Spanish and British rites.

[2] All but universal.

[3] So in *A.C.* and many other liturgies. Not in the Synoptists, but S. John mentions this act in xvii. 1, and in some of the miracle stories. It seems to have been our LORD's constant habit.

[4] See pp. 39–41.

LIKEWISE after supper He took the cup, and giving thanks, He blessed it, and gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of this; FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW COVENANT WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, for a {memorial / remembrance} of ME.[1]

[1] S. James and other Eastern liturgies add: "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the (or My) death and confess His (or My) resurrection until He (or I) come."

The Anamnesis and Oblation

WHEREFORE, O Lord, we Thy humble servants and holy people, remembering His blessed passion and precious death, His almighty resurrection and glorious ascension, and looking for His coming again with power and great glory:

WE offer unto THY GLORIOUS MAJESTY, [1] of Thine own gifts, [2] this bread and this cup, the memorial which He hath commanded us to make:

[giving thanks to Thee because Thou hast [3] ordained us to stand before Thee, and to { minister unto Thee. / do Thee service. }]

[1] " of Thine own "; *S. Chrys.*, *S. Basil*, *S. Mark* and derivatives. *Rome*; cf. English 1549, etc.

[2] *Ap. Trad.* and derivatives. *A.C.*, *Serapion.*

[3] S. John xv. 16. *Ap. Trad.* and derivatives, *A.C.*, *Non-Jurors.*

Union with the Heavenly Offering

(*a*) *The Deprecation.*[1]

AND although we [1] are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this, our bounden duty and service:

(*b*) *The Justification or Plea.*

Full Rite.

THROUGH the merits of our GREAT HIGH PRIEST, who for ever presents to Thee Himself the Perfect Sacrifice, the LAMB that had been slain and hath redeemed us by His Blood.

or

THROUGH Him Who ever liveth to make intercession for us, the LAMB that had been slain and hath redeemed us by His Blood.

Short Rite.

THROUGH the merits and mediation of our GREAT HIGH PRIEST.

or

IN the only perfect sacrifice of the LAMB of GOD.

[1] The Deprecation is peculiar to the Syrian and East Syrian liturgies. It is absent from *S. Chrys.* and only implied in *A.C.* It occurs in no Egyptian of Western rite except *Copt. S. Mark.*

An Alternative from very Ancient Sources

(*a*) *The Deprecation.*

AND as we [1] have been commanded, we Thy frail and sinful servants have [2] assembled in Thy Name, that by permission [3] of Thy grace, we may celebrate this mystery, so great and terrible, so holy and divine, wherein was [3] obtained eternal [4] redemption for the [3] whole race of man:

(*b*) *The Justification or Plea.*

AND we [5] beseech Thee that thou wilt look graciously upon these gifts set forth before Thee, and accept them to the [6] honour of Thy CHRIST, and in the perfect offering which He made to Thee upon the altar of the Cross.

[1] *Theodore.*
[2] Cf. *A. and M.*
[3] *Theodore*; cf. *Malabar.*
[4] *Theodore.*
[5] *A.C.*
[6] *A.C.* and *N.J.*

The Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit

WE [1] beseech Thee, therefore, to send Thy HOLY and LIFE [2]-GIVING SPIRIT upon this offering of Thy Church [3]; that He may bless and hallow it,[4] and make this bread to be unto us the very BODY of Thy CHRIST,[5] and this cup His precious BLOOD, [to preserve us unto everlasting life:] [6]

[1] The very words of *Ap. Trad.* and *A. and M.* have: "And may there come, O my Lord, the grace of the Holy Spirit, and may He dwell and rest upon this offering of Thy servants."

[2] *S. James, Copt. S. Mark*, and others.

[3] *Ap. Trad.*—"this oblation of Thy Holy Church."

[4] So *A. and M.*

[5] *S. James.*—"make this bread to be the Holy Body of Christ, and this cup the precious Blood of Christ."

[6] The purpose of the Invocation is usually stated here. But as it is implied in the prayer following the words in square brackets it may be omitted in the short rite.

Worthy Participation

Full Rite.

AND also upon[1] us and all who shall this day receive these holy mysteries that, being filled with His sanctifying grace and heavenly benediction, we may, without condemnation, partake of this immortal and heavenly FOOD, the BREAD of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation.

Short Rite.

AND upon all who shall partake thereof, to sanctify us by His grace, that we may, in all pureness and holiness, receive the GIFT of Thy dear SON, unto life eternal.

[1] *S. James, Severus, S. Chrys., S. Basil, Alex. S. Basil.*

Intercession

WE plead the atoning sacrifice of Thy dear SON, and humbly beseech Thee by His all-prevailing merits to grant :

To all Thy whole Church, remission of our sins and all other benefits of His passion; *For the whole Church.*

To all who rest in CHRIST, refreshment, light, peace, and the joy of His perpetual presence; *For the Departed.*

To us Thy reconciled children, who forgive one another even as Thou for CHRIST's sake hast forgiven us, the renewal of our union with CHRIST our Head, making us one Body with Him, and granting us some portion and fellowship with Thy holy Apostles and Martyrs and all Thy Saints, into whose glorious company we beseech Thee to admit us, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences; *For the Living.*

Through JESUS CHRIST our LORD.

N.B.—The Intercession may be omitted in the Short Rite provided that the Prayer for the Church has been said at the Offertory.

The end of the Anaphora.

The Lord's Prayer

AS our SAVIOUR hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say:

Priest. and people. Our FATHER who art in heaven: hallowed be Thy Name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

[1] The LORD's prayer is the connecting link between the Anaphora and the act of Communion in every liturgy from *S. James* to 1549 English. Its position in the present English rite is unique, anomalous, and, so far as the petition " Give us this day our daily Bread " is concerned, incongruous.

Fraction[1]

℣ O Saviour of the world, Who by Thy Cross and precious Blood hast redeemed us:

℟ Save us and help us, we humbly beseech Thee, O Lord.

Commixture[2]

℣ By Thy glorious Resurrection, triumphal Ascension, and perpetual Intercession,

℟ Good Lord deliver us.

Adoration

Priest and people. Hosanna to the Son of David: Blessed be He that cometh in the Name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest.[3]

[1] Our LORD took bread, blessed it and brake it before He gave it. It has likewise been the universal custom of His Church to complete the Anaphora before the Fraction. The consecrated Bread is broken as a symbol of His most sacred Body which was broken on the Cross, and of His most precious Blood which was shed for our redemption and salvation.

[2] It is also a custom of great antiquity for the priest, when he breaks the Bread, to put a particle of it into the Wine, to signify the reunion of our LORD'S SPIRIT with His BODY so that He might rise again. He died for our sins and He rose again for our justification. And He gives us not His dead, but His risen glorified BODY to sustain us in the risen life.

Alternative Prayer at the Commixture.

℣ May this mingling of the BODY and BLOOD of our LORD JESUS CHRIST avail us that receive it unto life everlasting.
℟ Amen.

[3] As the children welcomed our LORD in the temple with their Hosannas, so we, GOD'S children, now welcome Him to the temple of our hearts in like manner, and we adore and magnify His glorious Name for His condescension and His love.

The *Benedictus Qui* appears first in *A.C.* and in this place, see Linton, p. 35.

Preparation

[*Optional.—The priest, kneeling, may say :*
" We do not presume to come to this Thy Table," etc.]

Then let silence be kept while the priest and people, devoutly kneeling, pray each one for himself and others as may seem to him best, or on this wise :

LORD JESU CHRIST, SON of the Living GOD, Who by the will of the FATHER, and by the co-operation of the HOLY GHOST, hast given life unto the world by Thy death; deliver me by this Thy sacred BODY and BLOOD from all my sins, and keep me from all evil, make me to abide always in Thy commandments, and suffer me never to be separated from Thee; Who livest and reignest ever one GOD, world without end. Amen.

The Pax

Priest rising and facing the people THE Peace of the LORD be with you now and always:

℟ And with all mankind.

[1] Eleventh century, Western.

Communion

Suggested silent prayers, optional.

Before communicating. LORD, I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof; but speak the word only, and my soul shall be healed.

Before receiving in either species. What reward shall I give unto the LORD for all the benefits that He hath done unto me? I will receive the {Bread of heaven,} {cup of salvation,} and call upon the Name of the LORD.

After the priest and others in the sanctuary have communicated the priest may turn to the people and say:

℣ BELOVED, receive the LAMB of GOD:

℟ Who taketh away the sins of the world.

Agnus Dei, or a suitable anthem or hymn, may be sung during the Communion of the priest and people, or the people may pray silently as may best assist each one's devotion.

A Silent Prayer

After reception. BLESSED art Thou my LORD, Who hast graciously fed me with Thine own most precious BODY and BLOOD.

I have found Him Whom my soul loveth:

I will hold Him, and will not let Him go.

Thanksgiving and Renewal of Vows

Priest and People

Full Rite.

ALMIGHTY and everliving GOD, we most heartily thank Thee for that Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious BODY and BLOOD of Thy SON, our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST; and dost assure us thereby of Thy favour and goodness to us; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of Thy SON, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of Thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of Thy dear SON.

Short Rite.

WE most humbly thank Thee O merciful FATHER, that Thou hast graciously fed us who have faithfully received these holy mysteries with the spiritual food of the most precious BODY and BLOOD of Thy dear SON; and dost assure us thereby that we are once more His living members, Thy reconciled children, and inheritors of Thy heavenly kingdom, by the merits of His atoning sacrifice.

M

WE therefore present anew unto Thee our bodies souls and spirits, to be ever more and more a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto Thee, our reasonable service.

AND we beseech Thee so to assist us by Thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship and do all such good works as unto Thou hast prepared for us to our lives' walk in; end;

Through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

Post Communion

A Prayer for the Unity of the Church

Priest.

Full Rite.

AND now, O FATHER, glorify Thy well-beloved SON and keep in Thine own Name those whom Thou hast given Him while they are in the world from the evil. Sanctify us in the truth that even as Thou and He are one, so we may be perfected into one that the world may know that Thou didst send Him, and through our word all mankind may come to the knowledge of Thy grace and faith in Him.

Short Rite.

O LORD JESU CHRIST, Who didst say to Thine Apostles: Peace I leave with you; My peace I give unto you: Regard not our sins but the faith of Thy Church and grant her that peace and unity which is according to Thy will.

For the Consummation of God's Eternal Kingdom

AND then [O Father], as He hath promised, fulfil the number of Thine elect, and take to Thee Thy great power, that we who still strive with evil, and they who await us in Paradise, being made perfect together, may see Thy Face and share Thy glory, and receive {the things / that} which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man to conceive, the things which Thou hast prepared for them that love Thee.[1]

Ascription

"*For ever and ever*"

THROUGH the same Jesus Christ our Lord, by Whom and with Whom and in Whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

Any special intercession may be inserted here.

The Ablutions:

During which a hymn may be sung (*or* Gloria in excelsis *if it has not been already sung*).

The Blessing.

[1] *S. James, S. Mark.*

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